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monies in which visiting dignitaries were given an Indian name and adopted, symbolically, into the Blackfeet tribe. If any family conducted a memorial service for a deceased relative, or staged a give-away to honor visitors, he was called upon to be the crier. As crier he announced the import of the ceremony, led in chanting the proper song, or cried out the occasion for the give-away and called out the names of those to be honored with a gift.

In years past he had been employed by the Great Northern Railway as an official greeter of tourists arriving by train at Glacier Park, and as an entertainer at the inns within the Park where he and his friends staged Indian dances for the tourists.

Buffalo Heart, with others of his peers, had a place on the Honorary Tribal Council, and was given a small per diem for attendance at tribal council meetings. He was often chosen to accompany council members on trips to Washington, D.C. for the purpose of lobbying for or against proposed legislation which would affect Indians. In his regalia he furnished a bit of Indian color, as well as advice, to the proceedings.

Buffalo Heart and his fellow members of the Honorary Council felt that they represented the voice of the full-blood portion of the tribe and took every occasion to make long speeches in Blackfeet, urging harmony and trust, and asking for more attention to the needs of the people. But people paid little attention to the speeches; instead they talked, moved about, and impatiently filled in time until the Honorary Councilmen had had their say. On several occasions councilmen told the interpreter: "Tell him to make it short." The people in general felt some pride in their old-timers, but mixed this with a feeling of impatience and bare tolerance when the chiefs seemed to be taking themselves too seriously.

Buffalo Heart, and the others like him, usually lived among clusters of full-bloods in the more run-down areas of town, in small outlying communities, or, in a few cases, in more remote areas of the reservation. Buffalo Heart lived in a small two-room shack on Moccasin Flat, an area of shacks and cabins without sewer or water service, on the edge of Browning. The houses immediately surrounding his were occupied by some of his kin—a married son and his family, two married daughters and their families, and the family group of his brother.

The old man's home was the center for Indian gatherings. Here he and his friends conducted the religious rituals, bundle openings, and other ceremonies they wished to celebrate. Those who were singers would gather here occasionally for a song service—a meeting where they would drum and sing old and new songs. Buffalo Heart served as a tie to the old days, a source of information on lore and ritual, and an available medicine man for those who wished an Indian cure. The younger members of his family might participate in these functions, but usually just watched with a respectful air. As one family member said: "You join in even if you don't believe—it's part of the old Indian ways."

Buffalo Heart, however, was more than a man of the past. He was a medicine man and conducted curing ceremonies, yet he and those whom he had cured more often availed themselves of the services of the local doctors and hospital. Buffalo Heart was known as a Catholic and attended church occasionally, yet he was also considered to be a repository for, and a leader in, the present-day

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while he and the majority, due to what he believed were misfortunes beyond their control, failed. In his old age, no longer able to work, he accepted old age assistance, leased his lands to white ranchers through the local office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which manages lands held in trust for Indian owners, and reverted to being more fully "Indian." He admittedly did not know the old ways thoroughly. He and his friends tried to pool their knowledge, to revive the old ways and to teach these to their relatively uninterested children. He spoke of the better days of the past, which to him were the days of his father's youth. These were the buffalo days of which he had learned from the stories his father and his father's friends had told during the evenings around the fire. These days were real to him not just legend. As he saw it, Indian life in those days was not a patched up thing of half forgotten bits of knowledge which he sometimes felt life to be today.

Albert Buffalo Heart represents a small number of Blackfeet tribal members I have known and heard about, one segment of the reservation population that shares a particular status, a belief system, a mode of action, a way of life that is not limited to, nor necessarily characteristic of, old age. There are younger men and women who approximate Buffalo Heart's knowledge, beliefs, and aspirations; there are other men and women of equal relative age who share memories with the old man but who think, believe and act in another world. I will introduce a few more "representative types" to show some of the varied adaptations and adjustments made to the environment of the Blackfeet reservation. The incidents described in this section have been altered in place and detail to maintain the anonymity of the people involved, but they are based on and retain the spirit of actual events. The quoted remarks and conversations are verbatim statements made to me in situations that were similar to the contexts that have been constructed here.

I met John Arrowhead in Browning where he was waiting for the mail—a lease check was due, he said. He had just finished a fence building job and said that he hoped to find another job soon, perhaps herding sheep or "rock picking"—removing rocks and boulders that had weathered to the surface in wheat or hay fields. John is a short, wiry man, dressed in denim pants, a cowboy shirt and boots. He seldom wears a hat and nothing about his dress appears to be symbolic of the traditional Indian. Arrowhead is fifty-seven years old, had completed seven years of school, and said that he had traveled widely. His travels, usually to work in the harvesting of crops or with cattle or sheep, had taken him over a great part of the country.

During the years that I knew him, the jobs were infrequent. He is known to be a good worker, is still strong and capable, but prefers to spend more time in town, visiting and drinking with his friends. Sooner or later during our visits he would ask: "How about helping me out until my check comes? I need 50¢ to buy some gas for my friend so he can take me out home to get my clothes." I frequently gave him money and then drove around a corner to watch what happened. John would stall around for a bit, then head for the bar. Many summer days are spent standing in the shade of a building, watching the passers-by, talking with friends, and trying to get a little money for wine. He is available if a job is offered, but that seems to be a secondary consideration.

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concerning the tribe and the reservation, but see their future in terms of work, money, and building capital—the ranch, the farm, the herd. Some people represented by Roy and Bob achieve more success than others in this endeavor.

I also met some younger men, in appearance and dress youthful counterparts of John Arrowhead. They, however, spend less time standing around, seem to be more animated in their conversation, and move more often at a somewhat quicker pace. Like Roy and Bob, these men are not in town regularly. Joseph Renault, for example, is seen for a few days and then is gone for weeks at a time. He appears to differ in a number of ways from the others I have talked about.

Upon acquaintance, I found that this man is an active seeker of work, is known to be a good worker who is called whenever jobs are available. He also leaves the reservation to look for work in the harvests, to fight forest fires, or to take construction jobs. His employment is irregular and seasonal, yet he takes advantage of all such work available.

Joe is thirty-two years old, ⅜ Blackfeet, married but separated from his wife. When home, on Badger Creek near Old Agency, he lives with his mother, a sister, her two children, and two of his children that his mother is raising. These seven people live in a two room frame house that is badly in need of repair.

Joe knows something of Indian practices and has participated occasionally in social dancing. He speaks English quite fluently and claims to know very little of the Blackfeet language. He talked of both work conditions and old Indian ways during our discussions, but as a participant in the work realm and as one who was marginal to the Indian ways. He is a Catholic by faith, but here, too, is seldom a participant. I met him in town, where he frequently comes "between jobs" to meet his friends, have a few drinks and then, when his cash is gone, leave to find more work.

Because the opportunities to get better acquainted with Joe were few, I have but a shallow impression of his way of life. He impressed me as a man who, if trained, could become a steady worker, or who might just as readily fall into a pattern of life like that of Arrowhead as jobs become harder to find as he grows older. I learned little of his values or the beliefs to which he is committed; his goals, at least as he expressed them, seem to be limited to the next job and the spending of the money he earns. He talked occasionally of going on relocation, or of signing up for on-the-job training, but hinted that these thoughts have been with him for several years and have never gone beyond the inquiry stage. He had been in the Army for two years where he had learned welding, but found no demand for that trade on the reservation. "I may go to Denver and get a welding job," he said once, but he never went and I felt that in all probability he never would. If, in later years, he should go, and is successful in finding a trade and sticking to it, he might avoid the Arrowhead pattern. Yet he gives the impression that he would expect to fail and would return to the reservation. What creates these impressions of a man who at first seems so open and self-assured? The assurance is there when he talks of the present, but when he is led into thinking about the future he give the impression that this is unexplored territory. He has only vague ideas to work with. Also, he seems to have but shallow ties with the past, limited to his own experience plus what little he knows of his parents' life. Perhaps he

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is yet too young to be concerned with the past; but why no thought of the future? Again a question for further reflection.

I met some younger men, visibly Indian, who also were raised in the more traditional full-blood homes, but who are better educated than others from a similar background. They speak both languages fluently and are able interpreters. Raymond Black Plume expressed a primary goal of these men. "I want to make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best from the white way." These men see themselves as representatives of the full-blood group within the council, and actively seek office. Raymond has served several terms.

He participates in Indian ceremonies and knows much of the old religion and rituals, although he himself is a Christian and an active church member. His commitment to the old beliefs is difficult to assess. Although he is more than tolerant of the old practices, and gives the impression of being a respectful non-believer, occasional statements lead me to believe that there is much in the old religion that appeals to him, and he may have assimilated some of this into his Christian practice. Raymond's father, recently dead, had been one of the "chiefs," so Raymond's knowledge of Blackfeet lore and life came directly to him in his childhood home. Beyond this, he has traveled widely and has studied and accepted much white culture from his schooling.

I met a few others like him, all of whom are interested in tribal affairs and work regularly in council or agency jobs, or as clerks, teachers or tradesmen. These people, while differing as individuals, represent another kind of full-blood Indian.

Raymond, age forty-one, is married and has four children. His frame house has four rooms and, differing from those mentioned earlier, has more furnishings, including a refrigerator and a television set. He has a recent model automobile that is kept in good condition, but shows little attention to minor details of upkeep.

The house is located near those of other members of his family along a small creek, several miles from Browning, where the family members pooled their labor to develop a stock ranch. When Raymond is serving on the council, or employed at a council or agency job, he can count on his brothers, uncles, and nephews to look after the place, while his income, which is large in terms of the reservation average, will be used to keep all the family going when they need money.

These activities also indicated that Raymond is keenly interested in the present, ongoing activities of tribe and ranch. He also likes to talk of the past—a past in which he is interested and of which he has heard much from his father. However, he has no desire to return to those days, only a wish to use what good the old culture has to offer for today. He also thinks much about the future. He has goals for the people and for himself. He intends to build up the ranch until it can support the family. "I'll be ready if termination[1] comes," he said; "I'll be able to take care of myself and family." His progress toward this end appears to be slow, but he is making headway.

Raymond said that his greatest problems arise from the jealousy of his

[1] Termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between Indians and the federal government.

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177 626 friends and neighbors. The people like to see one of their boys get ahead but at the same time are jealous of his success. Consequently he is often the subject of gossip. People like Arrowhead praise him at one time, while at other times they lump him with the "crooks" on the council who see to it that all the benefits go to members of their own families but do nothing for the other people. He is criticized by Sorrel Horse for the conveniences to be found in his home. "Just go call on one of those councilmen. He'll have everything in his house, a radio, TV, a refrigerator, and probably will even have beer in it. He'll tell you that he's worked hard for it. But he hasn't. He tries to live like a white man while we 177 have nothing." Such criticism and gossip soon led me to believe that even the full-blood Blackfeet do not see eye to eye on many things. They differ as to what they want in life, how to get these things, and in their ability to achieve them. 177 563 Raymond said that there is conflict also between the full-bloods and the mixed-bloods. The latter, who make up roughly three-fourths of the tribal population, are more progressive, according to Raymond. "They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It isn't a caste division, just a mistrust of method and plan."

177 Many other people I met varied in family backgrounds, in jobs, or in personal appearance from those already discussed, but there were certain basic similarities in attitudes toward themselves and others, similarities of comprehension of, and interest in, Indian ways versus white ways. These characteristics make one person more like Arrowhead, another more like Raymond Black Plume, and yet another more like Joe Renault. There are many others, however, who seem to represent variations of a contrasting way of life.

Carl Hunter, thirty-seven years of age, is ⅜ Blackfeet and the son of mixed-blood parents. He had completed the eighth grade and served two years in the army, eight months of which was in active combat in Korea. His wife is ½ Blackfeet, and they have five children.

177 362 Carl owns no land or home of his own. He and his family live with his father, a widower who owns a two-room log cabin built in 1939 under one of the reservation housing programs. This is one of several houses clustered along Blacktail Creek from which the daily water supply is drawn. The home is sparsely furnished. The wood range serves for both cooking and heating. A wooden table and kitchen chairs provide dining and seating facilities. A cot, two double beds, and a crib complete the furnishings. The limited space and the sleeping requirements for eight people allow for little more.

177 464 Carl is employed regularly during the time of year (seven months) when work is available. He has worked on the railroad section crew and as a ranch hand, but considers construction labor to be his main occupation. His income is 177 434 not high, but is steady and sufficient to qualify him for unemployment benefits. His father has land which is leased for grazing and receives a small pension for his years of service as a janitor and caretaker for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This money, pooled with Carl's income, usually carries the family through the winter. Only occasionally is it necessary for the family to apply for welfare assistance.

177 [711] According to Carl, neither he nor his father have any knowledge of the traditional Blackfeet culture. All of the family have been raised as Catholics. Both his father and mother had attended the Catholic boarding school and stayed to work there for several years—his father as a caretaker and his mother as a cook.

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Carl attended the small public school near his childhood home followed by a few months at Browning High School. He dropped out because there was no bus service from his home to town at that time and it was hard to find a place to live in Browning. No one in his family can speak Blackfeet. He takes no interest in the more Indian social events, such as dancing, encampments, and stick games; his recreational activities center around card games and visiting with his family and neighbors along the creek during the winter. During the rest of the year he spends most of his spare time hunting. A few evenings are spent with his brother and a few friends in town, where they get a bottle and drive around in a car, stopping now and then for a few drinks. They usually end up at a friend's house where they play cards and "hang one on."

Carl, like some of the others, also seems to live in the present and think little about the future. He talks easily of the past, but with an air of detachment that puzzles me. He can relate a series of troubles and tragedies almost as if these things had happened to someone else. Is he a stoic, or is he carefully guarding his emotions from a stranger? His life conditions are extremely barren and harsh compared with mine. How can he appear so happy and satisfied with things as they are? Is it because he has neither known nor expects to know any other way? Yet he has had opportunities both on and off the reservation and in the army to meet others who live differently.

To probe into these questions, I asked about job opportunities on and off the reservation. What do the tribe and the bureau do to help people find work? "They are trying to attract industry to the reservation," he replied, "and are building programs for relocation and on-the-job training. None of these has produced much yet." His reply when asked whether or not he has considered relocation was that he had thought about it but never applied. "I don't have much trouble getting a job. Some of the fellows have gone on relocation and done all right. Others didn't like it and came home." The answers imply that he is doing well enough at seasonal work. There was no expression of dissatisfaction with his own subsistence pattern.

By my standards, eight people in two rooms is overcrowded, so I asked if there was any provision by either the tribe or the bureau to help a man if he wants to add onto or repair his home. "Yes, they have a setup for that," was the answer. "I guess we could get a loan like that if we needed it." This again seems an expression of satisfaction with the way things are. He recognizes no need for either more room or for repairs.

Carl has nothing to offer when asked about his future plans. I inferred that he would continue as he is. What culture pattern does he reflect—Indian or white? Or is his outlook a clue to a new subculture that has developed under reservation conditions? Is this a way of life related not so much to the reservation as to a more general American subcultural pattern that develops under conditions of deprivation, a way displayed here by a man who happens to be part Indian and who lives on an Indian reservation? This question will require further examination.

Robert Thompson was in town to get parts for a mower. His ranch is north of town and the prairie grass was about ready to be cut for hay. Robert appears to be about twenty-six years old, said he is married and has two children. He is ¼

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returned to swell the labor force. The Blackfeet shared in this change. The white homesteaders and cattlemen could abandon their places and go elsewhere; the Indian could not and had to rely again upon the government (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1921:56). The Indian, however, did have the agency to turn to, an advantage not shared by the white man. During the winter of 1920–1921 rations were issued to "over 2,000, or about two-thirds of the entire population" (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1922:12). Several informants reported that their families and friends were ruined at this time. A few were able to make a comeback, but many abandoned their ranches and did not try again.

In 1919, a second allotment of reservation lands was authorized in the annual appropriation bill for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S. Statutes XLI 1919:16–17). After this no further allotments in severalty were made to the Blackfeet Indians.

The Blackfeet generally were dependent again. Thirty-five years of attempted economic readaptation were behind them. They had tried farming and found it unrewarding. They had found satisfaction in stock raising, but only a few were able to succeed at this in the face of cold winters, periods of drought, and the fluctuating markets regulated by national and international conditions. Large numbers of younger men had been employed in seasonal labor, railway and irrigation construction work, harvesting and ranch labor and had served in the armed forces. These jobs provided some cash income but little training for long-range adjustment. Unused allotments were leased to others to provide another small cash return to the Indian owner. Many people depended entirely upon the rations issued and the cash that could be earned by wage work or leasing of land.

Periodic crop failures and price fluctuations made it difficult for the Indian to understand or to develop faith in long-range plans. Each government program offered future rewards and security, but the promised rewards never materialized; the only tangible things were cash, rations, and relief. The white man's values of thrift and hard work had been developed and maintained by a better than average experience of success; few Blackfeet, by 1920, had experienced enough consistent reward to become imbued with these values. Every ten years or so their best efforts had resulted in failure.

1920–1935 The next fifteen years were in many ways a repetition of the the past, and reinforced more than they changed the expectation patterns. Montana farmers, generally, experienced a severe depression during this time (Montana Almanac 1957:122) and this was capped by the national depression and the droughts of the Dust Bowl years that began in 1929 and 1930 (Toole 1959:240).

In 1921 a new and dedicated agent, Frank C. Campbell, began a "Five Year Program" of subsistence farming and economic development financed by reimbursable Indian bureau funds. He visited each Indian home and by consultation won support for his program. The Blackfeet were given a sense of participating in the planning of their own economy. The agent consulted with them and made a place for indigenous leaders with whom the people could discuss and resolve their problems (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1923:47; 1925:22–23).

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jobs to make enough to live on, so they took my cattle. Just didn't have enough land for farming or ranching.
—a seasonally employed construction worker, ⅛ Blackfeet.

I have about thirty-five head I'm running with family stock on other people's land. These are loan cattle. I've been taking five to ten head a year and haven't been pressed for payment. Just pay them back when I can. The family helps take care of them. I want to lease some land but I find it hard to do. The Indian gets priority but somehow it seems hard to get land away from the white lease-holders.
—a regularly employed carpenter, ¼ Blackfeet.

I was raised on a ranch. Before the war I was living and working for my uncle who had cattle. I had some loan cattle and was just getting started. Then I was called into the Army. They only kept me six months, but no one would take care of my cattle while I was gone so I turned back the loan cattle and sold the rest. After the war I came to town and worked for wages.
—an irregularly employed laborer, full-blood.

This is the way these men see the problems, and whether or not they are correct in their appraisal is beside the point. The important thing is that, for various reasons, many men failed to make a go of ranching and farming while a few others did. The successful ones appear to have had family support. Only by cooperation, in which some of the family took wage earning jobs while others tended the ranch, were most enterprises kept going.

The pressure for ending trust status of Indian land culminated in the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953 calling for the "earliest possible" termination of federal responsibilities over specified Indian tribes (U.S. Congr. Record XCIX, 8, 1953:9968). The Blackfeet were not included among the Indians to be "freed," but the resolution was interpreted as a statement of intent to end rapidly the trust status of all Indians. In response to this resolution, the

> issuance of patents in fee nearly doubled as compared with the previous year . . . while the disposition of allotted holdings through advertised sale more than tripled . . . (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1953:24).

A brief moratorium in effect during 1958 was lifted the following year "in compliance with a congressional request. . . ." (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1959:2:53). The Blackfeet continued to lose reservation land to nonmembers.

While federal and tribal authorities were attempting to increase the industrial capacity of the reservation, other forces were working against them. The population was growing—from the 3,921 resident members in 1941 to 4,850 in 1960 to more than 6,000 by 1970. The increasing number of Blackfeet who had left the reservation often included the most educated.[11] The land sales and continued fractionization of allotments through inheritance procedures made land consolidation and utilization increasingly difficult. The trend toward larger farms

[11] This out-migration continues, largely because there are few opportunities on the reservation for turning learning into income. Weber tried to find a correlation between schooling and income among his Babb sample and concluded that for making money ". . . in a community with very few jobs other than those demanding physical labor, comparative youth and vigor are more important than variations in schooling" (1969:16).

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and ranches increased the need for additional capital, but funds were not available to meet the demand. Periods of declining employment, that is the recession of 1957–1959, cut into individual earnings from wage labor. No new proven oil fields had been tapped, and interest in oil exploration decreased. When individual and tribal earnings fell off, the demand for welfare funds increased. The council contributed the greatest share to the county welfare program, so the relief the people received was yet another drain upon tribal income.

Tribal self-government suffered under these pressures. It was difficult to get a majority of the tribe to support any political or economic measure. The council, itself split on issues, despaired of tribal unity:

> Members of the Blackfeet Tribe are generally very poor. Their income is meager and consists mostly of income from leased trust land, casual labor, and participation in Tribal programs operated with Tribal income.
>
> It is very difficult to convince these people that Tribal income should be assigned for any purpose. Most of our people see only the spectre of having their income, and consequently Tribal programs and their direct benefits, diverted into programs designed for only more progressive members of the Tribe. To these people, it is a matter of personal survival. Any possible reduction in Tribal income to them automatically means a reduction in personal income.
>
> . . . until at least thirty per cent of the adult population of the Tribe becomes self-supporting and thus able to plan and to think in terms of the future, it appears that programs requiring popular approval for use of locally supervised Tribal funds will certainly be limited to those programs which meet the daily emergency needs of members of the Blackfeet Tribe. (Letter from the Secretary of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 3, 1960, Blackfeet Tribal Council Documents.)

Consequently, long-range programs were often deferred, per capita payments were made, and in most cases, the recipients spent the money for immediate needs.

The pessimism reflected above should be tempered, however. Even as he wrote the letter, the tribal secretary and other councilmen were working on plans for improving the housing on the reservation. Following councils, in face of continuing criticism by many tribal members, invested money in programs to develop tribal resources and provide more opportunities for employment on the reservation: one of the first fruits of this effort was the establishment of the Blackfeet Forest Products Enterprises in 1963. This group was funded by the tribe in the amount of $10,000 and given the authority to lease a mill site and to award a franchise for the erection and operation of a sawmill to a private operator. The mill was to hire local help and to use logs cut by Blackfeet labor from the tribal timber holdings. Mill operations have suffered from breakdowns because of the age of the equipment acquired; several operators have taken the concession and given it up in the face of difficulties; but the mill continues to operate, troubles are being ironed out, and the hours of work available to local men has gradually increased to the point that the sawmill and attendant timber cutting operations appear to be a small but important prop to the local economy.

With a tribal investment of both land and money, and a loan from the U.S. Economic Development Administration, the Business Council has developed an industrial park adjacent to the railroad just south of Browning. The council,

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its own shop at St. Mary. Duck Lake in the northern part of the reservation has long been famous as a fishing spot and attracted its share of travelers. But it is becoming apparent that the tourist potential has hardly been tapped. Plans are well along for a major tourist complex, with a lodge, campground, dining facilities, bar, marina, Indian tepee village and other facilities on Lower St. Mary Lake. Some camping facilities are already available and others are being planned. Such enterprises will surely produce revenues for the tribe; how many jobs will result for tribal members is another question. Concessionaires often bring their own employees in spite of efforts by the tribe to guarantee these jobs to local people.

Head Start, Community Action Planning and other ventures supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity continue to relieve some of the problems of the tribe; yet much needs to be done. I feel a sense of optimism about the future, but find this feeling difficult to support except for certain material signs of an improved economy—new buildings, homes, roads and services. For many people, however, the basic problem of a meaningful job and a reliable income seem as far away as ever. New industries help, but still do not provide jobs for all who need them among a growing population. Employment reports still show high unemployment and a primary dependence on firefighting and other seasonal and sporadic kinds of wage labor for jobs. Robbins's study of the Heart Butte region does little to allay these fears. He reported that only 50 percent of the cash income reported by the members of his sample came from employment, another 20 percent derived from land leased to others and 30 percent of the income for these households came from welfare funds (Robbins 1968:198). Heart Butte is not representative of the whole reservation, but may well indicate the economic conditions in the underdeveloped rural areas.

A similarly gloomy view is expressed by local people in an application for the support of a Model Cities Program:

> The lack of Employment Opportunities is basic. Year round jobs are scarce. Available opportunities in this area are mostly seasonal, thus throwing many workers into a low income bracket. This is true of Indian and non-Indian alike. Jobs that do become available are oftentimes accompanied with unrealistic requirements, i.e., setting educational levels too high, years of experience for the job too extreme, or emphasis on racial preferences.
>
> There are not enough diverse fields of interest—no technical challenges. Work categories are numbered and few. Economic resources are undeveloped to a great extent. . . . Training is limited particularly in specialized fields. . . . Poor work habits must be overcome as job and training opportunities come forth. . . . A careless attitude has built up along with the feeling of uselessness. . . .
>
> The role of the male is decaying in the home due to this feeling of uselessness. The woman has taken on an increasing role in family providing and management. The male role must be revitalized if there is to be job success. Learning skills would be an encouragement. . . .
>
> Low income is prevalent on the Reservation, particularly among Indian families. Approximately 62% of the resident Indian families have annual incomes below $3,000.00, and the mean income is $1,700.00. It has been estimated that approximately 3,000 persons receive some form of welfare financial assistance during part of each year. In the case of large families, the assistance standards are sometimes actually competitive with available earned income, since many local jobs, cowpunching for example, pay far below minimum standard wages. . . .

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Values of the White-Oriented Group

The category "white-oriented" and the characteristics by which it is defined in the context of the study, intimates that this group, in most respects, approximates the social structuring and culture of the American community of which the reservation is a part. The values of this segment of the reservation population are assumed to be similar to those found in a neighboring non-Indian community. The present purpose is not to analyze thoroughly either white-oriented or American values, but to establish that there is a similarity between the two, and to sketch the background against which a contrasting Indian-oriented value pattern stands out. The values can be abstracted from statements occurring repeatedly among the interview data, and they can be compared with some American value orientation about which there is agreement.

The values expressed in the field-interview data that appear to be most useful in separating the white-oriented from the Indian-oriented are closely related to those that were abstracted, in Chapter 4, from the speeches of governmental officials of the 1880s: work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness. These are highly interrelated concepts. Work is a means by which to achieve valued ends, in this case independence from others, the accumulation of property for self-security and the security of one's immediate family. It is also an end in itself. It is good to work. A man who is known as a good worker gains some prestige in the community. A white-oriented man uses these values as a measure of others whether or not he appears to practice them himself.

Some of these valued characteristics were indicated in the economic data gathered from my sample (McFee 1962:114–124) and some of those findings are reviewed to show that the values are reflected in actual behavior. Only three of the twenty white-oriented men were irregularly employed. Two were regularly employed at seasonal labor, but all others had year around employment. Again, the relative dependence upon family support and welfare aid appeared to be significant. Twelve of the twenty received no family support, three others did, but they were active participants in a successful family ranch or farm enterprise. Only one white-oriented man reported use of welfare.[14]

These figures, of course, reflect the influence of other factors, such as economic potential, relative age, education, health, and opportunity. But they are related also to motivation and to the degree of commitment to the white-oriented value system. The following excerpts, paraphrased from interviews with white-oriented subjects, illustrate some of the ways these values are expressed.

> I've been ranching all my life, and had to get a fee patent—they held me down. The reservation rules tied you all up. I'm independent and have trained the kids to be the same. I wanted to build up the ranch for the boys. Two of them

[14] These and the following figures, based on the answers given by members of the sample to my questionnaire are used to indicate some trends apparent in the limited data. Because of the small and incomplete sample it would not be safe to treat these trends as well supported generalizations about the whole population.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

183 461 are running it now. The youngest . . . isn't set up. He's working for the railroad, but there's no future in that. You work for them for forty years and all you have is a pension, and then you only work six months a year if you're lucky.
—mixed-blood rancher

I worked with a fellow about my age whose mother always complained. "My poor boy, always having to work." It made me sore. Why shouldn't he? I've always worked. I tried taking some time off work once and about went crazy.

The people [Indians] just don't understand what they're up against. They're looking for someone to take care of them.
—mixed-blood business man

No wonder the Indians are a happy-go-lucky bunch. They don't have to work. Lease money, per capita, and relief keep them going. They need to be put on their own and made to work their way out of it.

After I graduated from high school the old man talked to me and asked me what I was going to do. He said I couldn't just run around in the car, I had to do something. I've always had a job and haven't had to ask the people for anything.
—mixed-blood business employee

My parents emphasized hard work, honesty, thrift, and education. The Indians are clannish, but I'm more of a lone wolf. I'd rather take care of myself than to get help from the family.

I have fee patent title to my land so I can make my own deals without all the red tape and delay that you get at the agency.

The best days were under Stone and Campbell when everybody had a farm and was working.
—full-blood, self-employed contractor

183 871 Indians drop out of college because they haven't learned the value of an education. They can't manage their own affairs. In college it's all up to you. I have a tribal scholarship and work during vacations. I have an interest in the family ranch and help there and work for other ranchers too.
—mixed-blood college student

183 461 Many more clues appeared scattered through the interview data, and gained additional support from observation. White-oriented people prefer to be busy. They do not spend much time with the street corner groups. In fact a good indicator of orientation may be the time a person spends in such gatherings. Only the more elderly white-oriented men can stand or sit quietly and comfortably in conversation for any length of time. Most seem to have to be actively talking or listening. They jiggle their change or their keys. They look about more often and with quicker head movements than the Indians. In a comparatively short time the white-oriented person moves off down the street or into a building, off about their "business" or giving that impression, at least. The Indian-oriented on the other hand, can stand or sit quietly for an hour, two hours, or most of the day and do not feel compelled to talk all the time if nothing need be said. "Busyness" is not so important for them as it is for the white-oriented.

183 464 Often in white-oriented families both husband and wife hold steady jobs, and in some cases both are working and saving to develop a ranch or business

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

for future economic independence. Compared to the Indian-oriented, the white-oriented persons are more concerned about the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to buy and maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles. They early encourage their children to take on responsibility for chores, to work and to plan for their future. They cannot understand how anyone could think and act otherwise, unless they are "lazy and immoral."

The values expressed in the interviews and observations are similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle-class Americans. The emphasis upon and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future, are all recognized, under one name or another, in the social science studies of American values.

In one such study, Williams, a sociologist, recognizes the difficulty of isolating a common set of values for a large, complex, and heterogeneous society (Williams 1970:450), but finds support for fourteen major "value orientations," which are "certain dominant themes [abstracted] from the many important regional, class, and other intracultural variations" (Williams 1970:452–453).

Work is mentioned both as a valued means to other ends, and as an end in itself, and is subsumed as one aspect of the "Activity and Work" orientation. Activity is stressed and, according to Williams, ". . . it is no accident that business so characteristic of the culture can also be spelled 'busy-ness.'" (Williams 1970:458–461). Self-dependence and individualism are included as constituents of an orientation called "Individual Personality": "to be a person is to be independent, responsible, and self respecting, and thereby to be worthy of concern and respect in one's own right" (Williams 1970:495). The emphasis upon acquisitiveness is included in the "Material Comfort" orientation; a condition that "is highly approved and sought after." The material comfort orientation, according to Williams, does not reveal the "specific values . . . involved," which appear to be complexly interwoven in the idea of the "American Standard of Living" with its

> undertones and overtones of meanings—from nationalistic identification, to symbols of success, competence, and power and from a token of moral excellence to something very close to a terminal goal at the level of hedonistic gratification (Williams 1970:469–470).

At this level of analysis it would appear safe to assume that the value orientations of the white-oriented sub-culture are broadly similar to the values of the general American public. They are consistent with the economic, social and cultural life of the nation. The individual ideals of success, prestige, and higher status, achievable through the expression of these valued characteristics are considered contributory to the progress of the country. These values are a part of the complex American culture, and are linked with expectations that success will follow upon their practice. The white-oriented Blackfeet have learned these expectations through experience and example.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

183 It was suggested that Indians participate in sports and rodeos because
186 these were related to traditional Indian activities, and because Indian success in these activities had been given recognition by white people. Skills in these events are highly regarded by the Indian-oriented, perhaps for these same reasons.

183 The people of this group A gain subsistence within the white economic
461 system so that work skills become important. For the most part the Indians must work to get money to buy the necessities of life and the other things they want. Work is the principal means by which to acquire goods and property, and competence at work increases the chances both of finding work and making more money. In addition, work skills are valued as indices of personal achievement. Indian acquaintances identify themselves and others with some comment about what a man is, does, or has done, and past or present economic abilities are included in this appraisal. Unemployed men, talking to a white observer, usually point out past accomplishments, jobs at which they excel, or catalog the land, stock, and other possessions they own that might impress the investigator with their personal worth. Remember that John Arrowhead recalled that he had been a "champion dancer" and "a good bronc rider." He had traveled and worked in many parts of the country, he said, and told many stories of his adventures during those times. He took me on a tour of his "land" to show the house, ranch, and stock he owned. The land was his undoubtedly, but all else belonged to the leaseholder.

[177 This suggests another reason why economic skills, like excellence at sports,
186] are valued by the Indian-oriented. They are aware that these skills and abilities are given recognition by their white and white-oriented neighbors. Not only do these accomplishments contribute toward earning a living and a sense of personal achievement, but they also enhance the image of "the Indian" among the white men.

The Indian-oriented value work skills but have not adopted the American appreciation of work as an end in itself. Some of this is reflected in the responses [464 to my questionnaire. None of the eight men from the sample who were classified
494 as Indian-oriented were regularly employed. Four of these owned land and earned some lease income from that; five received some financial support from other
511] family members, while three had been dependent on welfare to get them through the year. Neither these nor the figures given above for the white-oriented are exactly representative of their respective groups, that is, not all white-oriented people are well off, nor are all Indian-oriented poor, but a comparison of these indicators does show the generally lower economic position of the Indian-oriented. The Indian works hard and well but feels no compulsion to work beyond the time necessary to satisfy short-term needs. Several factors contribute to this attitude, such as the irregular and seasonal jobs the Indian-oriented people are accustomed to getting, the apparent lack of interest in many things the white man considers essential, and the social restrictions on accumulation of property which will be
183 discussed under the heading of generosity. Local, state and bureau school officials
811 met to discuss problems of Indian education during one of my visits. Several speakers claimed that the Indian children were low on motivation and high on the scale of dropouts. One official recognized the value discrepancy when he stated,

A [i.e., the Indian-oriented group--Analyst]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

way and are just beginning to allow the abandonment of some hundreds of shanties, shacks, and cabins that have accumulated over the past half-century.

My analysis of the economic data gathered from my sample clearly demonstrated widespread poverty, but not everybody is poor—there are relatively affluent people both among the Indian- and white-oriented groups. The differences within each group are probably greater than those between them, but the average standing of Indian-oriented people, as a whole, is lower than that of the white-oriented (McFee 1962:120–124). To the extent that there is a positive correlation between income and housing, then, it is to be expected that a higher percentage of the Indian-oriented live in substandard housing than do the white-oriented. In what follows, then, I assume that adequate housing is desired by all and difficult to come by regardless of cultural orientation: the maintenance and furnishing of whatever kind of house people live in, however, does seem to me to be a fair indicator of some of the value differences described in the preceding chapter. This is what I will be talking about when I mention housing.

It should also be remembered that my sample was male so that much of what follows may reflect a male emphasis. Women play an integral part in establishing the status of the family. They maintain the homes, raise the children, and often contribute to the family income as well. All in all their influence often may be more important than that of the men in status achievement. A study of women and their role in reservation life is sorely needed.

Status among the White-Oriented

The white-oriented society can be divided roughly into three status classes: low, middle, and high. Class boundaries are indistinct, but high status can be distinguished from low, while the middle class shades imperceptibly into the two extremes forming what Stern, in his Klamath study so aptly called a "status gradient" (Stern 1966:214ff).

WHITE-ORIENTED LOW STATUS Low status people generally, are the least educated and least trained in the skills essential to regular employment. Consequently they are often irregularly employed, live in poor houses, dress poorly, and have few possessions. Poverty is a condition shared by low status people of both groups.

White and white-oriented people tend to lump low status people together regardless of orientation. While this is reasonable by many criteria, such judgments overlook cultural factors that make a white-oriented man different than his Indian-oriented counterpart. These distinguishing characteristics will be seen more clearly in the later discussion of the low status Indian-oriented.

The low status stratum encompasses a range from hard working, but irregularly employed men at the top, to a few improvident individuals at the bottom of the scale. The more ambitious of this class actively seek work and are considered to be good workers by those who know them. However, the jobs they find are seasonal and provide insufficient income for economic stability.

In general, low status men express little commitment to success and prog-

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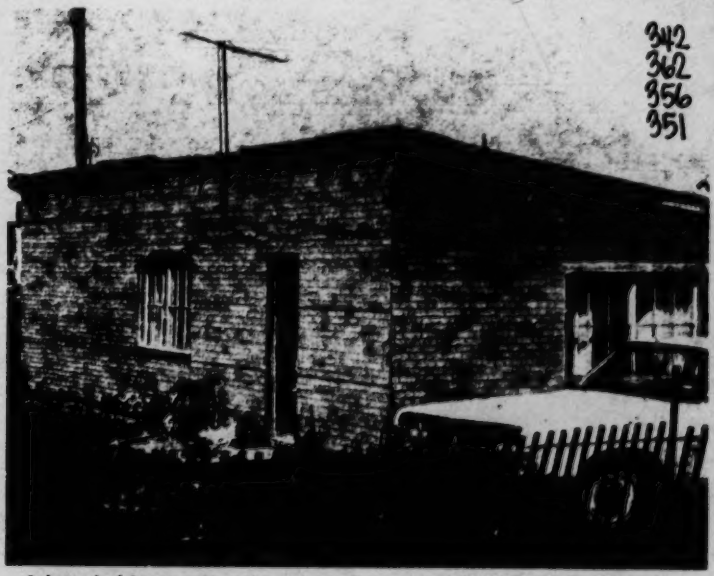

Sub-standard housing. Note the evidence of attention to interior housekeeping and the definition of a yard.

ress. One of the men interviewed had gone to Denver under a federal relocation program, but found the work too difficult so returned to his family. Another remarked that the relocation program was intended to help the Indian find work. He, with an average annual income of $2,250, had thought about going on relocation, but never applied. "I don't have much trouble getting a job," he said. 565 464

None of the low status men I interviewed own their own homes. Two talked about fixing things up around the houses they occupied but have not made improvements that would be expected if they were concerned about material comfort. Housing appears to be poor and inadequate when eight to eleven people live in a two room shack. In 1960 I visited a man who had lived with his wife and eight children in a house owned by one of his relatives. This was an old, two-room, unpainted structure with shiplap outer walls that had been patched here and there with plyboard. Some of the original asphalt roof remained visible among the many patches that had been applied over the years. The ceiling and some of the interior walls were covered with wallboard, others with cardboard. A single light bulb suspended from the ceiling by its cord hung in each room. Well worn linoleum covered the floors. The rooms were simply furnished: a wooden table, wooden chairs, an old overstuffed chair, a kitchen storage cabinet, two fiberboard wardrobes, a chest of drawers, three double beds, and a crib. A wall-hung kitchen sink with a cold water tap was the extent of interior plumbing; a wood range served for both cooking and heating. 565 423 356 565 362 342 354 352 355 354

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Because of their Indian-orientation, however, they must curb their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject them to constant surveillance and criticism. In addition, their youth is held against them. In the past, status through wisdom came with age and in the eyes of many of their people they are wise too soon. So these men cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful, and build a following that will attest to their wisdom, skill, and generosity in future years.

It is possible that in later life these men might take over the positions of custodians of tradition as these become vacated by the present chiefs, but this is doubtful, even though some people occasionally refer to them as "young chiefs." The tentative prediction would be that high status positions of both types will be filled from below where the factors of relative education and experience tend to produce differential experience within the Indian-oriented society. People of lower status already give indications as to how these positions will be filled.

The interpreters also differ from the chiefs, and many other Indian-oriented people as well, in the furnishing and maintenance of their homes. Most of the chiefs live in small frame or log houses with minimal services and simple furniture. They rarely have appliances—a wood range serves for both cooking and heating. The structures are unpainted inside and out and no attempt has been made to fence or otherwise mark the house lot or "territory." The interpreters, on the other hand, seem to have accepted more of the white-oriented interest in things. As a class, they live in larger three- or five-room houses which are painted on the inside at least. They build closets, have more furniture, own refrigerators, radios, and television sets. Often there is a fenced area around the house or some other border defining feature. The interpreters' homes look like those of many middle status white-oriented families—larger and better furnished than that of Bob Sorrel Horse, but not as freshly painted and filled with things as was Ray Hawkins' home. Here again is a sign that the interpreters aim for the best of two worlds.

INDIAN-ORIENTED LOW STATUS Low status Indian-oriented people can be described by characteristics quite similar to those of the same status in white-oriented society. These people are poor. Some are hard workers and others improvident, but lack of training limits these men to irregular wage labor. They do not find regular seasonal jobs but must take work where and when they can find it. Several of the improvident ones, like their white-oriented counterparts, are called "bums" and "winos" and are problem cases for the authorities. But there is a difference between men of the differing orientations even at the lowest status level. They face in different cultural directions, and the analysis of the data from my sample showed that the Indian-oriented low status man is more a part of his society than the lower-class white man is in his.

In contrast with the white-oriented group, economic factors fail to separate the low from many of the middle status people in Indian-oriented society. Irregular work, low income, poorly maintained and crowded houses are characteristics shared by people variously ranked on the status scale. The ultimate criterion for status assignment is social participation.

Low status people do not take part in as many social activities as do the

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

violence, automobile accidents, and exposure too often occur. Underlying all this is the pervasive poverty and lack of economic opportunity that undermines self-esteem.

Too often, I think, these problems have been described as Indian problems, when they are mostly local expressions of national problems. Such an emphasis has tended to reinforce a negative stereotype of the Indian held by many neighboring whites and even by some of the white-oriented tribal members. The Indian aspect of these problems is that the Indian-oriented tend to be treated as second-class citizens on the reservation, and they, and the white-oriented as well, are treated as second-class citizens off the reservation. This creates resentment for all and identity problems for many of the young people. Some of the resulting frustrations are expressed in ways that create social problems. Beyond this, the causal factors and their antisocial expression are the same as those to be found in every community in the country, and like most other communities, the Blackfeet recognized the problems and are trying to do something about them. A Crisis Clinic, Alcoholics Anonymous, Community Action Programs, the town, the tribe, the B.I.A., church and civic organizations, and concerned citizens are at work. The solutions to these problems may be found elsewhere, they may be found here. Information, support and sympathy are needed: sensational publicity is rightfully resented.

These and other problems should not be glossed over or ignored, but at the same time they should not be stressed to the neglect of more positive aspects. The positive side to the problems described above is that they are recognized by local people and that local people are trying to do something about them. Prophets of gloom and doom are not hard to find, so in these final pages I am going to look more at the strengths than at the weaknesses to show some of the things that I think augur a better future for the Blackfeet.

The problems of an inadequate economic base and the attendant poverty are all pervasive, but these too have been recognized for a long time and the tribe, bureau, and town of Browning have been cooperating in attempts to create a viable economy. History militates against predictions of success in these endeavors. It is easy to see in retrospect how planners erred when they began so early and persisted so long in promoting small subsistence farming and ranching as the key to Indian economic security, at a time when the trend in these occupations was toward increased use of machinery and the utilization of increasingly larger land holdings. Present plans, too, may prove to be out of step with future trends. These trends, of course, are difficult to identify and action to improve the economy must be taken on the basis of the best predictions and the hope that some of the plans will be in tune with tomorrow.

The present plans for reservation economic development are predicated on (1) relocation of some of the population to industrial centers through federal support for on the job training, (2) attracting small industries and their payrolls to the reservation, and (3) increased exploitation of tourism. Success depends not only on how well these are implemented, but on where they lead.

Of these ventures, I am least optimistic about the relocation programs. These were not discussed in earlier chapters because my major concern was with events on the reservation and because accurate figures about the results of the past

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

years efforts are not available. Bureau reports show upwards of sixty persons per year off the reservation engaged in on-the-job training or in vocational schools, but I do not know the actual rate of permanent relocation. I have talked to several men, and have heard of others, who tried relocation and for varying reasons failed and came back home. I have been told that many of those who are reported to have made a success of these ventures were already off reservation and employed prior to their entering the program. These men had availed themselves of the opportunity to better their job. These programs affect the reservation economy, however, by reducing the level of unemployment on the reservation and by contributing to the training of those who leave and return. There has been gain for individuals, but to my mind, the gain to the reservation has been slight. Too few have successfully relocated to have reduced significantly the number of unemployed, and the skills learned by those who have gone to the cities and returned more often than not have been of little use on the reservation.

I would question, too, the compatibility of this program with present trends in the cities. Relocation is being supported at a time when our cities are becoming increasingly untenable, fraught with the problems of underemployment, decaying housing, underfinanced services and overtaxed transportation facilities. It does not seem to be the proper time to encourage Indians to go to the city where they must learn and try to hold a job in a situation of possibly declining employment, and risk as well the possibility of having to move into the local poverty pockets of wretched housing. I would think that one would choose poverty among friends and in the country over poverty in the city among strangers. I feel that relocation programs are dead end streets that might be opened if they were redirected toward providing employment for Indians in small industries in small cities, at least until we can read with more certainty what the future holds for our major cities.

If it develops that the solution to city problems results in further decentralization of industry and population, then the present plans for local industrial development may turn out to be the plans of farsighted men. At present the reservation seems too far from population and commercial centers to attract industry, but it is on main transportation routes and has space, clean air, clean water and a good supply of capable, if untrained, workers. These features could be very attractive to management personnel who like the country, the scenery, hunting, fishing, and outdoor sports and are disenchanted with the city and its problems. But, if industry does come, the planning must be such that these advantages are preserved and some of the benefits of that industry accrue to the present residents. Industry will have to be more conservative and less exploitive of the natural and human resources of the region than it has been elsewhere.

The tribe and the townspeople have made a heavy investment and have incurred a considerable debt to build the Industrial Park, to make the sewer, water, and street improvements, to build homes in preparation for industrial expansion, and to make the community attractive to management personnel. If things work out, these debts will be self-liquidating and the reservation community will have made marked economic progress. If the industries do not come, things will be no worse than before. The physical improvements will remain, and better housing was sorely needed. True, everybody will be deeper in debt, but debts have been

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

best for his children. The Indian agent, not the chiefs, would be the Moses who would lead his children out of the bondage of ignorance and poverty into the promised land of knowledge and prosperity. There was no place in that system for the traditional pattern of Indian leadership. Consequently, the position of head chief was abandoned after the death of White Calf in 1903. Indian achievement of a way of life like that of rural whites was the goal toward which the planners were striving. That many of the Indians, especially the fullbloods, cherished attitudes, beliefs, and customs which were quite unlike those of whites did not seem important to the policy makers of the time.

Many factors conspired to impede the Indians' progress toward the goal set for them. Elaborate and costly programs devised by whites failed to rouse the interest and co-operation of Indians who were supposed to benefit from them. Frequent changes in agents provided fitful and sometimes very weak local leadership, while white men covetous of the Indians' land exploited this weakness to gain possession of some of the best land on the reservation. Finally, the vagaries of the weather—prolonged summer droughts and harsh winter storms—nullified the best laid plans of men.

During the first decade of this century irrigation came to be regarded as the magic formula for the agricultural development of the low rainfall areas of the west. Oblivious to the fact that the Blackfoot Indians had shown little desire to make their living by growing crops, the planners embarked upon the construction of extensive irrigation projects on their Montana reservation in 1908. For several years hundreds of Indian men found employment on these construction projects. Even though much of the equipment was strange to them, they learned to use it and did well in their work. They enjoyed working for regular daily wages. But when the projects were completed, very few Indians could be induced to farm the irrigated lands. When Frank Knox, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, visited the Blackfeet Reservation in 1926, he found that Indians were farming only 306 acres, or a little over 1 per cent of the 21,341 acres

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

721 727 439 [195] "... none are spared but young girls, who are taken captive and sold to the Canadian traders...."[183]

As early as 1774, Cocking mentions the exchange of two young girl captives between the Blackfoot and the trading Indians (Cree), who acted as middlemen for the Hudson's Bay Company.[184] We have not been able to determine the extent of this trade, but our material suggests that it was of some importance.

195 727 439 464 562 After 1830, women captives were no longer sold or traded. They were now valued by the Blackfoot as an additional labor supply to meet the new needs of tanning hides and preparing provisions for the enormous market provided by the fur trade. Here again, the old importance of women in terms of numbers was overshadowed by their new importance as aids in the acquisition of the new equipment (guns, amunition, etc.), that had become so necessary to Blackfoot life.

721 727 Loot as an objective of pre-horse war was restricted to weapons, leather armor, tools, and other small articles. These objects had usefulness but were of limited economic value, and in a sense fell into the category of war trophies.

Another motive for war was the desire for scalps and the prestige connected with scalp taking. Early in the eighteenth century an old Piegan chief tells us, "... we were fond of war, even our women flattered us to war, and nothing was thought of but scalps for dancing and singing."[185] [178] Warfare had little of the commercialism of later years, but was intimately tied up with religious motives which later almost completely disappeared.

An interesting aspect of this is found in Thompson, in Saukamappee's 195 721 727 539 795 recounting of a theological discussion concerning questions of scalping and the use of the soul of a slain enemy. A successful war party had returned with over fifty scalps. A war tent was made where all the chiefs, warriors, and mourners, assembled.

"All those whose faces were blackened for the loss of relations or friends, now came forward to claim the scalps to be held in their hands for the benefit of their departed relations and friends; this occasioned a long conversation with those who had scalps; at length they came forward to the War Chief. Those who had taken the trophy from the head of an enemy they had killed, said the Souls of the enemy that each of us has slain belongs to us and we have given them to our relations in the other world to be their slaves, and we are contented. Those who had scalps taken from the enemy that were found dead under the shields were at a loss what to say, as not one could say he had actually slain the enemy whose scalp he held, and yet wanted to send their souls to be the slaves of their departed relations. This caused much discussion, and the old chiefs decided it could not be done; and that no one could send the soul of an

[183] Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson Bay*, pp. 177, 188.
[184] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[185] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go. 581 184

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half. 586 184

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice. 587 184

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85] 556 581 [162] [595] [582] [555] [674] [578]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three, 556 [464] [557] 556 557 [464]

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."!

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older." Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day." He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him. To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87] These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps*? Who gets respect?" he answered, "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added, "a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect" in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought success.

CHILD STATUS AND WEALTH.—Children of the rich were set apart from

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[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

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[1877-1894]

confines of a limited area, asked to follow unrewarding and unfamiliar occupations, and forbidden the one activity that assured them a place in their society—horse-stealing. That such a radical change was accomplished without resistance was due to one fact: there were no more buffalo on these once blackened plains. Rations offered by a friendly though foreign government alone made life possible.

Much of the traditional living was destroyed. But the economic mechanisms developed in the buffalo period survived. Unlike the rebellious Sioux, the acquiescent Blood were permitted to retain their horses. To this starving people these horses remained the symbol of wealth. Exuberant property transfers for ceremonial privilege and prestige continued to dominate their life but, lacking the earlier opportunities for improving status, only those who had horses before 1877 were able to participate in ostentatious displays. The need for loyal supporters diminished. So did the need for an energetic, though poor, son-in-law. The rich preferred to bulwark their position by marrying their children to others equally favored. Social stratifications, incipient in the buffalo days, became more marked in these early years of the reserve period.

1894–1910

The new economy continued to be a desultory affair. By 1896, the population had fallen to 1400.[91] The Blood were farming 304 acres, an increase of only twenty-nine in ten years. The farms were small, but the agent proudly reported that "instead of 35 fields worked mostly by whites in 1886, there were now 84 fields worked mostly by Indians."[92] Still the old difficulties remained and new ones were added. "The depression and lack of need of Indian labor and commodities, the poor crops in the Northwest Territories made it necessary to continue relief without curtailment, in spite of increasing vigilance."[93]

The earnings for the year, although greater than they had ever been before and distributed to more individuals, fell far below the needs of the tribe:[94]

Mining coal	$380.00
Hauling coal	725.00
Freighting	1183.60
Hay sold	1400.00
Working wages	2000.00
Sundries	1821.42
Total	$7510.11

[91] 1896, Vol. 10, No. 14, p. 367.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 326.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

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434 The total income of the tribe had risen to $29,000.[104] Of this amount,
311 one-half was derived from farm products including hay. The two were, in fact, almost synonymous, for only 51½ acres were still being cultivated.[105] The erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole
[463] tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds: "Almost the only occupations beside looking after the cattle and horses are hay making and freighting coal."[106]

246 Many factors encouraged the Blood to join in the haying experiment.
657 First, a market existed both on and off the reservation: what the Indian
[434] herds did not need was sold to the Mounted Police or neighboring white ranchers. Second, there was no onerous cultivation. Except for a few irrigated acres, the hay that was cropped grew wild on the prairies. And finally, in a new setting, the haying camps recalled the great days of their hunting
[464] past. In the late summer, the tribe again made for the open range. Any man who owned a wagon, a team of horses, and a few implements, could be sure of some income from the new industry. Those who lacked even these few basic necessities could attach themselves to wealthier men. As in the earlier time, their labor would be rewarded by some small share in the harvest.
[556] Advantage still remained with the men of wealth, but participation was
[184] assured at a low level, and even the poor man had a chance.

The camps also strengthened, if only temporarily, bonds of family and
[571] band. The notorious Charcoal,[107] who had left his home in anger and moved
[621] far off by himself, joined the haying camp, again accepted the leadership
[593] of his brother and helped bring in the crop. Desire to share in the new wealth
[182] overcame violent intra-familial resentment.

In 1902, one-third of the adult males on the reserve owned cattle.[108]
464 By 1909, practically every man could boast a cow. Numerous circumstances
[231] contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth during the first decade of the century. Such industries as haying, hauling, or working in the
[434] beet factory were open to everyone. In 1905, beet fields were planted at Raymond,[109] and two years later the Blood earned $9000 topping beets and
[316] carting them to the factory.[110] And the report continues, "One of our
[472] Indians named Black Horse has a small coal mine on the banks of the St. Mary's River from which he makes his living mining and selling coal to the

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[104] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 228.

[105] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 220.

[106] *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 132.

[107] Charcoal later murdered his wife's lover. He killed himself as he was about to be apprehended by the Agency police assisted by his own brothers.

[108] 1904, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 237.

[109] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 203.

[110] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 161.

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[1894-1910]

schools and settlers in the neighborhood."[111] His lucrative venture added to the general income: anyone so minded could haul coal at a fixed rate.

But the chief concern of the Blood was with their herds. In 1902, a loan system had been established.[112] "The system," explains a report, "is the lending to the Indians of one or two animals upon condition that, at the expiration of a certain time he will return to the department an equal number,—these in turn being loaned to others." Any increase above that number was his. And in 1905, the Blood demanded the 900 head of cattle still due under the old treaty of 1877. Having once refused them, "these men seeing the advance made by cattle herders . . . changed their minds."[113]

By 1906, the Blood had more than 7500 cattle,[114] and a cash income of

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[111] *Ibid.* Among the Northern Blackfoot the mines are tribally owned and the benefits general. In fact, in contradistinction to the Blood, much of the experience of this tribe in the reserve period has tended to equalize wealth. Among other things, the cold winters of 1905-6 and 1906-7 affected the Northern Blackfoot much more seriously than they did the Blood and more of their cattle were lost. This no doubt inspired a more general North Blackfoot participation in agriculture both before 1910 and after. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920, therefore, did not create as inequitable a situation for them as they did for the Blood.

But perhaps even more fundamental to the general security of the North Blackfoot was their income from annuities and land rentals that became substantial something over twenty years ago. These neatly cushioned the shock from any drop in market price. In 1923, they reached a combined total of more than $88,000 (for the Blood approximately $22,000); in 1934, during the great depression and drought, the North Blackfoot had an income of almost $125,000 from these same sources (the Blood something over $13,000). The last published figures (for 1936) vary little from these. A census taken in 1939 reveals a North Blackfoot population of 830; a Blood population of 1476.

According to Dr. Jane Richardson and Dr. Lucien M. Hanks, Jr. (personal communications) everyone on the North Blackfoot Reserve under fifty years of age receives $25 annually, over fifty years, $50. Besides liberal grocery rations, 7 lbs. of meat are allotted weekly to each individual. The sick and aged receive additional help. At marriage a young couple is set up in a newly built or adequately refurbished house, given furniture, a horse and wagon if desired, and what is more important, forty acres of the best cultivatable land still available. An informant told Dr. Richardson, "There are no more poor on this reserve." Another, somewhat nostalgic for the privileges of the past, said, "It isn't fun being a *mistipoka* on this reserve any more." While there is still considerable wife-beating and a rare case of wife-murder, Dr. Richardson says there is little violence exhibited between males. Evidently, the practical elimination of wealth differences has effectively reduced the strains of competition, and as a corollary, the incidence of assault among them.

[112] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 132.

[113] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.

[114] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 162. This peak was not maintained. The cold winter that followed reduced the herds almost one-third (among the Piegan and the North Blackfoot the loss was even higher). Fifty-five hundred cattle survived and no great dislocation of ownership seems to have resulted.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written, "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their views. . . . The experimental discovery of the market value has brought this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

SOCIAL VALUES SUSTAINED.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True, they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their families from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expansion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the curtailment of the hay areas . . . and the gradual increase of cattle, a large and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what they could profitably handle. . . . "[119] Ponies and priority had determined the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand; again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treatment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907–1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

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but despite the unattractiveness of the wage, some of the ambitious still sought these jobs. Loyal service might be rewarded by a convenient marriage.

Although the poor man might raise his status by marrying the daughter of his rich employer, there were many times when he complained of continued exploitation after such a marriage. "Respect" did not always follow. Certain brave souls broke from the trying situation, but many knew that, if you were born poor, the ways and means of getting ahead fast were still few.

Squirrel Man, Yellow Wolf's poor son-in-law, stuck it out. His behavior bespeaks his frustrations. A year after marriage, the young groom brought his bride to her father's place. Here they were given a home of their own, "for Squirrel Man had nothing except what he got from his father-in-law for whom he worked from that time on." He sat in the Sun Lodge which his "chaste" wife put up, but it was her brother, Pointed Plume, who paid most of the expenses, made the large distributions at the give-away, and gained in prestige. Later, when Squirrel Man's sons wanted to farm, they had to borrow horses and wagons from their wealthy uncle. In time, "although he always acted like a brother to Pointed Plume," as one informant put it, the unhappy husband could tolerate his lot no longer. He feigned suicide when his wife persisted in visiting her brother; he flashed a mirror from the hill-top (a conventional invitation to assignation) in an attempt to bolster his ego and make his wife jealous—but in his case there was no eager mistress to answer it; he abandoned his wife and home, only to return meekly a short time later led by the agent; and as a final symbol of his castration, he hastily donned woman's clothes and hid when he was called by the court as a witness.[111]

Other young men preferred to work for the agency or white ranchers, for the money wages received from such employment offered a greater measure of independence. The poor young man no longer had to accept a patronizing handout from a rich relative; he no longer had to be a burden to a poor one. But despite the new opportunities, the economic advantage at marriage would still favor the sons of the rich. The poor young man might have secured some few cattle from a late issue; he might have bought a saddle horse for $100 and a fine saddle for $105; he might even have invested in a few horses, as indeed Ned Sloane did after years of working out. But all

[111] Here and in the case of the man who wanted to murder his wife because he believed she was sleeping with a ghost (see p. 51), abnormal behavior was laid to the eating of peyote. This is particularly interesting since peyote is rarely used by the Blackfoot. Squirrel Man got it from a visiting medicine man—one informant said he was a Crow, another an Osage—who put on a peyote cure for Mrs. Squirrel Man. The other secured the buttons while he was visiting the Crow.

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and those who shared in the new wealth imitated as successfully as they could the behavior of the wealthy tribesmen. The new herding economy functioned comfortably within the framework of pre-reserve values.

1910–1920

FARMING AND THE NEW MONEY ECONOMY.—After the turn of the century, experiment revealed that the soil and climate of the Blood Reserve were well adapted to the cultivation of red fife, an early maturing wheat,[128] and shortly before 1910, land was thrown open for farming. The cattle herders, led by their head chief, Crop-eared Wolf, objected vociferously to any reduction of their grazing fields,[129] but the agency, interested primarily in obtaining the largest income possible, was not deterred. The younger men, "the working element" as the report calls them, eagerly backed the new plan and rushed in their applications for land, "as much as a steam plough can break in two years."[130] This "working element" saw its first big chance to make good since the buffalo days.[131] It was a composite of half-breeds who shared in a small way, if at all, in the property distributions of their Blood relatives, a number of full-bloods whose families could offer them little, and a few ambitious and far-sighted cattle owners, mostly from those very chiefly families that had, at first, fought the program so bitterly. The bulk of the herders, however, were content with their lucrative herds and their share in the income from hay. Their poorer but not too distant relatives preferred helping them to embarking upon a new and untried career.

Previous wealth was no prerequisite to this new farming program. Anyone willing to work could get forty acres of land, plowed and ready to plant. "The intention is to continue the breaking until every working Indian on the reserve is supplied with whatever acreage he is capable of cultivating."[132] In 1909, 820 acres were broken for fifteen Indians.[133] The farms ran together in a great strip to facilitate the plowing that was done with a steam plow bought with tribal funds, but the report explicitly states, "each man

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[128] Waines, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[129] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169; also Harry D. Biele, interview in 1939 with R. C. Wilson, former agent of the Blood.

[130] *idem.*

[131] Speaking of agriculture, Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31) says of this herding tribe, "Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor any other means of subsistence resorted to it." Owen Lattimore (*High Tartary*, p. 245) notes a similar situation. "In the new tendency, it is the young man not established and the man who fails to hold his own as a flock-master, herder, and raider who drifts out of the nomadic life and settles on the land."

[132] 1910, Vol. 17, No. 27, p. 174.

[133] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169.

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657 owns his own farm and after it is broken for him, works it individually
425 without having any interest in the work or produce of any of the adjoining
243 farms. . . .[124] Out of the proceeds of the crop each Indian paid back to the
[407] trust fund all advances that had been made him including cost of breaking
[452] land, seed, fencing, granaries."[125] Returns were immediate and large. Chief Running Antelope, who bought
243 out one of the other Indians[126] while the crop was growing and thus har-
434 vested eighty acres, had a cash balance of $1309.42 after paying all debts
[425] and advances. Emile Bull Shield came next with a net balance of $1203.59. Tallow took third place with clear profits of $1200.81.[127] By the end of the decade, many a young farmer was better off than the old established cattle herders.

434 The following table shows the amazing increase in income during this
178 decade of greatest participation:[128]

	1911	1914	1919	1920
Farm products, including hay	$29,645	$34,000	$99,575	$110,000
Beef	11,549	14,345	60,000	59,929
Wages	13,432	17,751	35,000	50,000
Miscellaneous	2,124	5,001	39,171	34,403
Total income	$56,750	$61,100	$233,746	$254,332

● 464 In 1919, there were 4000 cattle (a substantial decrease from the figures
433 of 1906) and 3600 horses on the reserve; 2800 acres were sown, almost
[231] entirely in wheat, and 10,000 tons of hay were cut.[129] Due to World War I,
[458] all commodity prices were inflated and the returns from beef and farm products multiplied four times in as many years. Everyone prospered. Even the single men without herds or land had no difficulty in finding a job.

465 Sometimes a worker might be given a small share of the crop, sometimes
464 he might receive cash wages, but most frequently the remuneration offered by former herder or new farmer was not unlike that of the buffalo days. Says Pointed Plume,

> In the years I was building my herd and farming I hired Bob Sharp Cutter to help me. He was the son of my father's brother, Sharp Cutter. He was much younger

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[124] *Idem.*

[125] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[126] Once assigned, land could be "sold" or "rented" by one Blood to another.
[427] Leases to whites were made only with the permission of the Agency and the native Council of Chiefs.

[127] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[128] 1911, Vol. 19, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 24; 1914, Vol. 23, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 1; 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 68; 1920, Vol. 8, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 76.

[129] 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, p. 36.

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than I. When he came, he was still single, but he remained with me for several years after his marriage. He lived in the same house with me. He received no regular pay, but he was given board and lodging. Sometimes I made him a gift. In the fall I would take him to the dry goods store and fit him out. After his marriage, I boarded his wife as well. Besides this, he kept $4.00 out of each $8.00 I paid for hauling the grain to the elevator. There were about thirty hauls.

Says Ned Sloane,

Spotted Tail, my father-in-law's brother's son worked for me three summers and winters. He was single and lived in my house. He received no regular wage, but besides his board and lodging, I gave him a horse at the end of each year, a complete riding outfit, some clothes, and a small cash bonus every so often. When he married he left me, but his brother who was still single took his place and worked for me for two years.

Shamanism appealed only to the old who were still willing to purchase medicine with horses and validate it with dreams. The herders continued to build up their position as they had in the past. They bought medicine bundles; they joined societies; they honored their sons and daughters with lavish payments in both horses and goods for ceremonial privileges. The new rich spent their money on seeds, implements, barns, and wagons. Unwilling to accumulate more than the few horses necessary to their daily tasks, these fortunate farmers felt no urge to enhance their prestige by ceremonial purchase. But they did have favorites "the American way." They honored their children with extravagant outfits, a fine saddle horse, a fine saddle. While they spent their money differently from the horse owners, they were just as eager to set their sons and daughters apart from the sons and daughters of the poorer families as were the owners of the large herds.

SUMMARY.—During this decade income spread was greatest and Blood prosperity at its peak. With few exceptions, the new farming program received its strongest support from those individuals who had the smallest stake in their society. Quick rewards soon set them on a par with the successful herders, but lacking a surplus of horses, they did not validate their position in the customary manner. For the first time in the history of the Blood, a money economy, entirely divorced from the traditional horse economy, flourished exuberantly and with success in this competitive society.

1920–1940

FROST AND DEPRESSION.—At the end of this golden decade, two catastrophes befell the Blood. The post-war depression caused a sudden drop in commodity prices. Both farmers and herders suffered. But prior to this, the harsh winters of 1919 and 1920 had created a much more fundamental

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inherited property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

JEALOUSY.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases. . . . When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. . . . There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

where their children or grandchildren are enrolled. An additional factor is a desire to overcome logistics problems such as the hardships of transportation, obtaining water and fuel for residences and access to service facilities. For instance, many elders lament the fact that they must leave their isolated homesites, where most of them were raised and to which they are so attached. Yet these elders, most of whom depend on welfare or lease incomes, can no longer manage a distant residence mainly because of logistics and lack of private vehicles. Thirty-two per cent of the rural inhabitants own no personal vehicles and elders are heavily represented among non-owners.

If this trend continues one can expect Browning and Heart Butte proper (in that order) to become more and more crowded and the outlying rural areas less populated. There are fewer and fewer enticements for living in the distant rural areas. In the past the lure of employment in Browning and off-reservation towns was not as strong as at present. Small ranching operations, although largely unprofitable, were sufficient to offer some hope and rewards, but these inducements have dropped out of the economic realm for the most part. Movements, especially among the young, are to locations where there is some promise of securing wage-earning jobs. But the trend is not nearly so marked as it is at Augusta because young Augustans can find a place in the larger society, feel at home in their new settings, can often attend college, find secure employment for the most part, and need not fear racial antagonism.

Despite the several motives given below for family relocation,

mutual assistance between 1 and 5.

Land owned by Number 17 is contiguous with land owned by Number 1. Number 17 provides equipment and labor for Number 1 and receives a portion of the hay crop in return for his services. The same assistance is given to Number 5, and 5, in turn, gives a portion of his crops to Number 17.

The conjugal pairs in the G^0 generation who head units 1 and 5 are conjugal pairs in the first descending generation in the same units in the 1921 sample. The extended family household, indicated by the letter A and headed by a male in the G^1 generation, provides more than half of the labor for unit Number 1. Extended family "B", headed by a divorced female in generation G^1 is only casually involved in the ranch operation. She owns a few cattle and her former spouse assisted with labor.

The income from these three enterprises is not substantial, quantity of land and livestock are not sufficient to maintain individual families. The male in G^0 (unit Number 1) could not sustain himself without help from his son-in-law and male "s." The two males with large families both drive school buses in the winter months to supplement their income and the female spouse of the head of extended family A works part-time to bring in additional needed income. Furthermore, the dependent nuclear family in extended family household A set up a separate household on the paternal grandmother's land while I was in Heart Butte in 1967. The young male now works in Browning full-time. The female head in extended family household B receives ADC, and her

592 434 464 [651] married daughter receives an allowance from her spouse who is in the U. S. Army. Thus, the cattle enterprises described in detail here are closely interlocked with one another and the enterprises themselves are clearly not sufficiently productive to support the large number of persons in the co-op units.

128 434 592 [651] The Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates that at least 200 cattle (a self-sustaining herd) and approximately twenty acres per animal are necessary to support a single, debt-free family. On this basis, the five households in Diagram VI would need a combined total of 1,000 animals and 20,000 acres (on a per household basis). I do not know the specific number of animals or acres now controlled, but I do know that resources, in each case, are marginal. The fact that supplemental cash resources are needed (wage labor, ADC, etc.) and that intensive pooling of labor and equipment is conducted, attest to shortages of agricultural and financial resources. Ranching by itself does not provide these families with sufficient incomes; other sources are needed to allow them some independence.

592 454 233 I have not as yet discussed unit Number 15 in the 1921 sample. This unit is still viable, as I mentioned below, and was until 1970 headed by the unmarried male shown in the diagram of the 1921 co-op. I did not interview the now deceased elder head, but I learned that he operated a ranch with two married sons, both of whom lived adjacent to their father's home. The three families controlled more than 20,000 acres of heirship land and land leased from others. This unit shows that the 1921 pattern of operating the ranch with lineal kin linked

128 expect--that the more acres cultivated the more hands required to do
474 the job, but I point out that since only the exceptional family culti-
241 vated as much as 235 acres, it seems that individual families with equip-
592 ment and teams of horses were quite able to manage their acreages.
Presumably their resources, cash or otherwise, permitted an economic-
ally independent existence. That these families could have sought or
offered aid even in the absence of nearby kin is clear. Others farmed
with non-kin; although kin aid was the nearly universal practice.

241 The one exception--the party in the lower left quadrant of the
464 table--shared its harvest from its 235 acres with a hired hand and his
128 family. The hired hand, who owned no land, merely received payment for
his labor. One could eliminate this case from the list of co-ops by
arguing that share-cropping is here a wage. I have chosen to label
this case a co-op unit because of the comments made in the survey
volume; there was a strong indication of mutual assistance between
these unrelated families.

596 No multiple-family household in either district cultivated more
474 than twenty acres. Again, the hypothesis is supported: families
182 cooperate mutually to exploit meager resources and the obverse is that
the greater the resources (up to a point) the greater the occurrence of
independent nuclear family households. But this generalization by no
means applies unerringly to all families and households. We saw, for
example, a large three-household, three-family ranching co-op (unit 15
in the Heart Butte District discussed earlier) which today is immensely
successful through family consolidation of growing access to land and

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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cultivated an average of about twelve acres, a total well below the average for independent nuclear family households. Though the correlation ratio is low, only about .12, the row means of acres per family type strongly indicate the relatively meager resources utilized by those in multiple-family households and I assert that meagerness of resources brings these families together for mutual assistance. This test lends support to my hypothesis. In 1966 families in multiple-family households received less income per family than other families, although in combination those families bring their income up to an even slightly above the overall median. My tests for the contemporary data and for the data from the 1921 survey suggest that my hypothesis about the relationship between quantities of economic resources, measured either by cash or land placed under cultivation, and family types is confirmed.

Heads of independent nuclear farming families were, on the average, in their middle 40's. This compares closely with the average age of steady earners in the 1966 sample, which is 41.9 years. The neo-colonial poverty syndrome of the past persists today. Men in their twenties, particularly those who are not married, are largely unable to secure employment, while those in their late 30's and in their 40's achieve some steady employment. At about age 50 the economic picture changes. Manual labor jobs, which comprise a high percentage of available employment, demand too much from those in their 50's so that earning capacity slides rapidly.

An additional and final test of these two variables (family types and resources) is shown in Table 9. Here I test merely participation in

reservation less and less promising for the majority of tribal members who remain.

One final remark regarding the economy of the Old Agency and Heart Butte districts in 1921 concerns the few full-time jobs. Table 14 lists all positions of full employment recorded in the survey volumes, the ages, location and degree of Blackfeet blood of each of the encumbents in those positions. The table shows that of the nine positions listed three (33 per cent) were held by Whites, a percentage similar to that shown in the number of total acres cultivated by Whites. Six positions were held by persons of one-half or less Blackfeet racial ancestry (66 per cent). Again, it is clear that Whites and other persons of one-half Blackfeet blood or less controlled a disproportionate share of available resources (jobs, acres, animals).

It is also worth pointing out that the median age of steadily employed males in 1921 (though the number is small) was 37.5 years, a figure which is quite close to the 41.9 median years for steady earners in 1966 among rural Blackfeet. The median age of farmers and ranchers in 1921 was 44.0 years; the four ranchers interviewed in 1966 were 41, 42, 68, and 72 years of age.

Economics--A Summary

Economic data and the posited relationships explicated to this point show the low order position of nearly all farmers and ranchers (compared, that is, with Mountain States figures of the time), with the full-bloods in the lowest position in all economic categories (acres,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

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Table 14

FULL-TIME POSITIONS, OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICTS, 1921

Age	Sex	Degree of Blackfeet Blood, if any	Location	Position
29	Male	3/4	Old Agency	Reclamation Service--Labor
44	Male	White	Old Agency	Reclamation Service--Labor
63	Male	3/8	Old Agency	Reclamation Service--Labor (also farmed on own land with son)
29	Male	Full	Old Agency	Protestant Mission employee
36	Male	White	Old Agency	Dancer and singer at square dances
27	Male	White	Old Agency	Freighter and laborer, Reclamation Service
39	Male	7/8	Heart Butte	Policeman
44	Male	1/2	Heart Butte	Trader
42	Male	1/2	Old Agency	Part-time mechanic

592 434 128

$1800) show the low income positions for these family types compared with others in the diagram. An explanation of the eighteen exceptions in Table 23 will lend additional support to my principal hypothesis.

Eight of the low income families are female-headed. Five of these are grandparent-grandchild households headed by four elderly widows and one elderly divorcee. In all of these cases the elder females support their dependent grandchildren on ADC payments or meager pensions. In only one case does the elder head partially depend upon the earnings of a resident grandchild (a female whose adult grandson earns about $500 per annum firefighting). However, all of these households receive some aid from kinsmen who reside near them in Browning. In only one instance is financial aid substantial; among the remainder assistance takes the form of baby-sitting, house-keeping, transportation and occasional food. Frequently some aid is given in return--baby-sitting, food, and house-keeping. Mutual emotional support is frequent in all cases. Most of the elderly household heads seem to manage on their ADC or other meager sources of income, although their financial circumstances at times are exceedingly precarious.

592 434 476 602

The remaining three female-headed households shed a somewhat different light on the low income, independent nuclear families. These three households are headed by young females (all are 27 years of age) with two or three offspring. All are divorcees. Two of them lived with closely related families in the past but had finally managed to pull together enough ADC income to reside alone with their children. All three receive substantial economic and labor assistance from their consanguines.

602 possibility, as the cases discussed below strongly indicate. I know no
591 household head or his spouse who does not have some closely related kin
592 in or near Browning.

592 Another case further illustrates mutual kin and economic ties.
602 This consists of a male, age 39, who heads a large independent nuclear
476 family. While his income is low--but $2,700 in 1967--he was at the time
(434) engaged in ranching, an undertaking that permitted some economic amenities such as meat for the family larder which is not reflected in cash
(625) income. Presently the man and his family reside in Browning where the
(464) man is employed as a policeman for the Tribe; he and his family live near the man's mother. The mother is the head of a grandparent-grandchild household (only one grandchild). Food, transportation services, and household work are mutual between these households. The male, however, is now able to assist his mother more frequently than in the past.
(128) This is the fifteenth exception to my hypothesis.

(434) One of the remaining three cases is a conjugal pair whose household income is $2,700, which yields a well above average per capita figure. Of the final two cases, one consists of a small nuclear family which receives considerable aid from the female spouse's mother--labor, some cash, and occasionally quarters (in summer). The other resides in Browning within two blocks of the low-income household in which her daughter resides.

592 The eighteenth and final case is a middle-age couple hosting ten
511 offspring and one grandchild. The household income is a meager $3,300 per annum. The hardships facing this family from week to week are

Browning Earners

121 Before I take up the Browning family cycle I wish to analyze briefly the earners in the Browning sample. Who earns, the sex, racial ancestry, age and duration of employment will all be discussed.

128 Of the 212 persons in my sample, 35 are earners. These persons
464 reside in 25 of the 39 households (64 per cent); fourteen households (36 per cent) have no in-residence earners of any sort. Ten households have more than one earner (usually husband and wife). Twenty-two
434 earners are males, thirteen are females. Total earned income is $126,000,
128 with seven households having joint husband-wife earners receiving about
464 50 per cent of the total. As mentioned, one-half of all earned income is derived from federal employment (Community Action Program, other OEO
472 agencies, BIA, Forest Service, National Park Service, etc.). Two households are engaged in individually-owned private businesses which bring in $18,800 (about fourteen per cent of all earned income for the entire sample) and one couple earns about $3,000 per annum doing Indian
434 crafts. Other sources of employment are individual ranching (one case),
464 Tribal Policeman (one), school teaching (one), ranching and farming,
128 housekeeping, waitressing, etc., for others. The high percentage of earned revenue from federal jobs suggests meager success and opportunities in private enterprises.

434 There are twenty-one full-time earners; these reside in sixteen
592 households. Five households have two steady earners each. Thus only 15 of
128 39 households have steady earners, or only 43 per cent of all households
464 sampled. The median age of steady earners is 42.0 years, which is almost
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precisely the median age of steady earners in the rural sample (41.9). Fourteen full-time workers are males, eight are females. The median age of all earners, seasonal and permanent, is somewhat lower (34.5) than for steady earners alone. The youngest earners are generally the seasonal earners.

Six steady earners received job training from the military, BIA, colleges or special schools. Of these six, five are engaged in occupations for which their training prepared them. The median income of steady earners is $4,750, for seasonal earners the median is $700, and for the sample of all earners the median is $2,785. The median years of educational and vocational training (public schools, special training, college attendance, etc.) for steady earners is eleven years, while the median for seasonal earners is 8.5 years. Education is not a particularly important factor in determining full employment as the following 2 x 2 contingency table (Table 24) demonstrates. I use eleven years of training and education to determine the distribution above and below the median.

The tested relationship is not significant. A further test demonstrates the over-riding influence of length of employment on income amount, as Table 25 indicates. Furthermore, length of employment and racial composition are significantly associated, as Table 26 shows. And finally, I test for racial composition and amount of earnad income (Table 27). Here the relationship is once again a strong one, although not quite as strong as in the previous table.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 144]

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Table 24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FULL EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND EDUCATION, 35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	11 or More Years of Schooling	Less than 11 Years of Schooling	
Full Employment	11	11	22
Less than Full Employment	4	9	13
	15	20	35

$r_c = .037$; $x^2 = 1.98$, P .20

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Table 25

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT AND ANNUAL EARNINGS,
35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968,
AND 1970

	$2,800 or More per Annum	Less than $2,800 per Annum	
12 Months of Employment	20	2	22
Less than 12 Months of Employment	0	13	13
	20	15	35

$\gamma_c = .625$; $X^2 = 12.01$, P .001

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Table 26

RACIAL COMPOSITION AND LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT,
35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, 1970

	10 to 12 Months of Employment	Less than 12 Months of Employment	
Less than Full Blood	18	4	22
Full Blood	3	10	13
	21	14	35

$\gamma_c = .357$; $X^2 = 12.81$, P .001

The preceding tables demonstrate that earnings are most closely associated with the number of months of employment and less associated with educational experience; racial composition is associated with short-term employment, low earnings, and less education. These findings corroborate the results of comparable tests in Chapter III regarding strengths of association between racial composition and acres cultivated, as well as full-time employment in the 1921 sample. These results show that full bloods tend to hold the low income short-term jobs. In the past and present they are found at the bottom as measured by access to resources in the tests made in this study. These are crucial findings; they must always be kept in mind when any generalizations are made about the social organization (and hence kinship organization) of the reservation.

In Chapter III, I speculated about why the full bloods were less able or willing to farm more than meager acreages on the average. I cited language problems, hostility, timidity, and lack of business and agricultural experience. Today the situation is somewhat different. Almost a half century has passed since 1921 and the full bloods, according to my findings, remain in a relatively poor position. Full bloods, mixed-bloods and Whites are still competing for very meager resources. Tragically, the majority of full bloods continue to fall by the wayside because they do not have job experience, education (that is, quality education), and know-how for some occupations, especially the critical federal jobs which require some education and training. This is a circular process; if one cannot secure employment, he or she

178 563 464 182 cannot qualify for jobs, hence seasonal or employment results. It goes on and on with each generation. Meanwhile, Whites and mixed-bloods are entrenched in positions where they can assist their kin in obtaining the few opportunities that are available. The majority of full bloods, therefore, continue to form an economic sub-stratum. That discrimination in hiring full bloods exists is unquestionable. But this does not always take the form of racial bigotry per se. It is more the result of meager economic opportunities for everyone and a form of competition which favors the abilities of Whites and mixed-bloods. It is these few Whites and mixed-bloods (and a very few full bloods) who climb up to a lower middle-class position on the reservation. The remainder are caught in an underclass position.

592 511 182 I have shown that economic factors strongly influence household composition, as is the case in the rural sample. I have shown that in Browning inter-household mutual economic assistance is rather commonplace among low-income related families, as was also found in the rural districts.

434 464 563 811 182 Length of employment is a strong determiner of amount of earned income; racial composition is strongly associated with length of employment and income amount; and finally, educational and vocational training are least though somewhat associated with full employment. The adult male or female who works twelve months of the year, has eleven or more years of educational or vocational training and who is one-half or less Indian is most likely to be relatively successful in earning more than $2,800 per annum according to my findings.

of tribal revenues such as recreational permits, rights-of-way, etc.

There are 141 commercial and industrial enterprises (including commercial recreation) which rely on Indian resources and manpower. The estimated capacity of employees is 846; average weekly employment is 423. Average weekly Indian employment is 254, which is only about 60 per cent of the total average weekly employment (Ibid.). Furthermore, a sum of 254 is extremely low considering the number of employables on the reservation who are unable to secure employment.

Job opportunities are obviously poor, as I have abundantly demonstrated, as has the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Young males of my acquaintance in the rural district and in Browning have very modest expectations. To most of them <u>any</u> full-time employment is an enormous measure of success. The nature of the work matters little; it is a solid income that makes the difference, that delineates the hopeless and helpless from those who find respectability and self-respect. In the light of the data analyzed in such detail in this and my other Blackfeet studies, it is no surprise that alcoholism, suicide, delinquency, criminality, illegitimacies and ennui are commonplace. A final nail in the coffin is the realization that conditions have not improved significantly since 1921. I have also been able to demonstrate that only about 40 per cent of the erstwhile reservation inhabitants leave permanently. These data were gathered from interviews and a review of high school year-books by persons who knew the whereabouts of former students. If this figure is only approximately accurate, and I believe it is reasonably accurate based on the increase in the on-reservation population, we see definite prospects for the growth of a very large reservation slum.

643 666 Councilmen are elected by the secret ballot of eligible tribal members and serve for a period of two years. Each council supervises the voting and defines the boundaries of the election districts for the election of its successor body. Four districts are regularly recognized and each is served by an established number of councilmen. Browning district is represented by four councilmen, Seville, Heart Butte and Old Agency by three each.

643 The Tribal Council elects its own officers, appoints its own court officers and police, and hires its secretarial and administrative staff. This body has been given broad powers for political and economic action within limits reserved by law to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior. Tribal actions concerning disposal of trust lands, and involving tribal credit or expenditures above an established amount are subject to review or approval by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his representatives.

Economic Ramifications

641 Tribal membership legally defines a person as an Indian, and such membership provides a set of privileges and liabilities not shared [651] by non-members. The income derived by a tribal member from crops raised on trust land, or the proceeds from the sale of stock grazed on trust land, are not subject to Federal income taxes.[47] All lands held in trust by the Federal government are exempt from local and state [427] property taxes.[48] Qualified tribal members are given preference over [464]

[47] Federal Indian Law, op. cit., p. 883.

[48] Ibid., pp. 845-848, 854.

641 non-members in the awarding of grazing or farming leases of trust land,
[427] and tribal members of one-fourth or more degree Indian are given a
[464] preference credit in applications for employment by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These are a few of the privileges that go with tribal member-
[473] ship. As members of the corporation, the people also share in the
[434] earnings of the corporation. Periodically the council votes a per capita payment as a distribution of tribal income in excess of that required for the operational expenses.

657 Such privileges are offset by some liabilities--particularly
425 for those men who feel competent to handle their own affairs. Trust lands must be leased through the Agency land office and all use, leasing, procurement of fee patent titles, and sale of land come under government supervision. Tribally held trust lands are covered by the same regulations.

428 The allotment acts provide that the inheritance laws of the
423 state shall govern the distribution of allotted lands upon the death of
[671] an allottee. The laws of Montana recognize disposal of property by will, and the Federal government recognizes the transfer of trust title, in whole or in part, by will. In the absence of a will, state laws define the succession and the shares of an estate each heir shall receive. The result of fifty years or more of practice has been an increased fragmentation of original allotments to the point where an allotment may have as many as fifty owners, or have been portioned out
[427] into a series of plots too small to serve economic ends. The Agency is charged with the duty of keeping records of such changes in ownership, and with leasing such lands for the benefit of the owners. A lease

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657 public settlement. An appropriation was included for the construction
[425] of an irrigation system for the lands to be allotted.[115] Allotment
[653] surveys and work on the irrigation projects were begun in the two years
[464] following the enactment of the legislation.[116] Irrigation construction provided an additional source of labor and income for many Indians.

657 The last annuities under the agreement of 1896 were paid in
433 1908. Henceforth Indian rations and aid were dependent upon tribal income, reimbursable government appropriations, and occasional relief measures. The unanalyzed statistics from the Agents' reports for the next few years give a picture of continuing economic progress for the tribe as a whole.

[464] The first World War relieved some of the pressure on reservation
[722] resources--good weather and abundant crops prevailed generally until 1917; livestock and produce found a ready market at high prices; and many Blackfeet were drawn into the armed forces, thereby reducing the local labor force. But all of this does not reflect accurately the condition of individuals. A process was going on that was slowly segmenting the population.

162 First, the population was growing--from 2,063 in 1905[117] to
563 2,957 in 1920--and becoming increasingly hybridized. Of the total, in 1920, less than half, or 1,141 persons, were full-bloods, while the balance were mixed. Among the mixed-blood population 956 were one-half

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[115] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1907, XXXIV, p. 1035.

[116] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1908, p. 61; 1909, pp. 4-5.

[117] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1905, facing p. 16.

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[1884-1960]

657 A drought cycle began in 1917 and continued for four years.[123]
433 The end of the war, in 1919, resulted in the loss of markets. The
[731] drought and falling prices brought bankruptcy to both cattlemen and
[458] farmers in this part of Montana by 1919 and 1920. Veterans returned to
swell the labor force. The Blackfeet shared in this change. The white
[464] homesteaders and cattlemen could abandon their places and go elsewhere;
the Indian could not and had to rely again upon the government.[124] The
Indian, however, did have the Agency to turn to, an advantage not shared
by the white man. During the winter of 1920-1921 rations were issued to
"over 2,000, or about two-thirds of the entire population."[125] Several
informants reported that their families and friends were ruined at this
[461] time. A few were able to make a comeback, but many abandoned their
ranches and did not try again.

657 In 1919, a second allotment of reservation lands was authorized
425 in the annual appropriation bill for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[126]
After this no further allotments in severalty were made to the Blackfeet
Indians.

433 The Blackfeet generally were again dependent. Thirty-five years
461 of attempted economic readaptation were behind them. They had tried
[233] farming and found it unrewarding. They had found satisfaction in stock
raising, but only a few were able to succeed at this in the face of cold

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[123] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1921, p. 55; Daniel W. Whetstone, Frontier Editor (New York: Hastings House Publishers, Inc., 1956), pp. 145-146.

[124] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1921, p. 56.

[125] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1922, p. 12

[126] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1919, XLI, pp. 16-17.

[1884-1960]

433 winters, periods of drought, and the fluctuating markets regulated by
[461] national and international conditions. Large numbers of younger men
[233] had been employed in seasonal labor, railway and irrigation construction
[464] work, harvesting and ranch labor and had served in the armed forces.
These jobs provided some cash income but no training for long-range
[427] adaptation. Unused allotments were leased to others to provide another
small cash return to the Indian owner. Many people depended entirely
upon the rations issued and the cash that could be earned by wage work
or leasing of land.

179 Periodic crop failures and price fluctuations made it difficult
461 for the Indian to understand or to develop faith in long-range plans.
Each government program offered future rewards and security, but the
promised rewards never materialized; the only tangible things were cash,
rations and relief. The white man's values of thrift and hard work had
been developed and maintained by a better than average experience of
success; few Blackfeet, by 1920, had experienced enough consistent
reward to become imbued with these values. Every ten years or so their
best efforts had resulted in failure.

1920-1935

433 The next fifteen years were in many ways a repetition of the
past, and reinforced more than they changed the expectation patterns.
[458] Montana farmers, generally, experienced a severe depression during this
[731] time[127] and this was capped by the national depression and the droughts
of the Dust Bowl years that began in 1929 and 1930.[128]

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[127] The Montana Almanac, op. cit., p. 122.

[128] Ross K. Toole, Montana: An Uncommon Land (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 240.

[1884-1960]

653 In 1933 the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) and the
657 Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) programs were established to meet national unemployment and the benefits were extended to Indian
[464] reservations.[133] Like the irrigation construction of earlier years, these programs provided a source of seasonal cash labor, an important prop to the economy, but one that provided little training for permanent employment on the reservation.

648 At this point in Blackfeet adaptation, new national Indian policies were being formulated. The Merian Report, a monumental study of the Indian problems published in 1928, questioned the whole doctrine of assimilation of the Indians.

> He who wishes to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization of this country should be given all practicable aid and advice in making the necessary adjustments. He who wants to remain an Indian and live according to his old culture should be aided in doing so.[134]

648 This, and many other of the recommendations, became official
657 policy with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.[135]
[425] The act provided, among other things, for the cessation of allotment
[426] of Indian land, a limitation on the sale of restricted Indian land to others than tribal members, and the establishment of a revolving loan fund from which Indian corporations could borrow to further either tribal or individual enterprises. Tribes were authorized to organize

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[133] U.S., Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1937, p. 218.

[134] Lewis Merian et al., The Problem of Indian Administration, Institute for Government Research (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928), p. 28.

[135] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1934, XLVIII, p. 984.

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433 like other Indians, were still leasing the land to others rather than
[427] using it themselves.[153] The C.C.C. remained an important economic prop.
[653] The war years, 1942 to 1945, had far-reaching effects on the
722 Blackfeet. The C.C.C. program was suspended in 1942,[154] but several
[653] hundred young men and women served in the armed forces and worked in
[464] defense plants around the country.[155] Ready markets and higher prices
[433] for farm products coincided with increased rainfall to bring general
prosperity to the Montana farmers and ranchers,[156] and the Blackfeet
[167] shared in this. The "greatest exodus of Indians from reservations that
has ever taken place" also occurred during the war years.[157] Indians
were meeting other Americans, learning new skills, and seeing more of
the outside world.

727 Like all past periods of activity and increased economic
[167] advance, this one met reversals after the war. The greater number of
the Indians returned to the reservation when the military forces were
[433] demobilized and the war industries were closed.[158] Wage work fell off
and a "downward trend in family incomes set in."[159]

434 The young people returned with money to spend, but the
727 opportunities for investment were scarce. Few of them owned land with
which to start a ranch or farm. They had the money to build new homes,

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[153] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1941, pp. 451-452.

[154] Ibid., 1943, p. 317. [155] Ewers, 1958, op. cit., p. 324.

[156] Toole, op. cit., p. 241.

[157] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1944, p. 237.

[158] Ibid., 1946, p. 353. [159] Ibid., p. 351.

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[1884-1960]

433 My father had a ranch and I helped him from the time I left
233 school until the war. After the war I got a job in California
727 and stayed there until my father asked me to come back and
help with the ranch. I worked on the ranch for two years, then
my father, who was getting old, sold off his stock in 1948
464 and I went to work for another rancher.
426 --a steadily employed farmhand, Case No. 46, ¼ Blackfeet.

I had a good herd and then got sick and couldn't take care of them. Nobody would. Some were stolen so I sold them all.
--a full-blood pensioner.

My father bought this land and is leasing more to farm. I dropped out of school to help and now I'm running the farm. My father got a F.H.A. loan to improve the house and we're doing good.
--a young farmer, Case No. 31, 5/16 Blackfeet.

I was farming, had 80 acres of grain but that wasn't enough to make a living. Then I ranched on 580 acres. I had 65 head, including calves--loan cattle. The loan requirements insist that you stay with the cattle, but I took wage jobs to make enough to live on, so they took my cattle. Just didn't have enough land for farming or ranching.
--a seasonally employed construction worker, Case No. 6, 1/16 Blackfeet.

I have about 35 head I'm running with family stock on other people's land. These are loan cattle. I've been taking 5 to 10 head a year and haven't been pressed for payment. Just pay them back when I can. The family helps take care of them.
[427] I want to lease some land but find it hard to do. The Indian gets priority but somehow it seems hard to get land away from the white leaseholders.
--a regularly employed carpenter, Case No. 45, 1/4 Blackfeet.

I was raised on a ranch. Before the war I was living and working for my uncle who had cattle. I had some loan cattle and was just getting started. Then I was called into the Army. They only kept me six months, but no one would take care of my cattle while I was gone so I turned back the loan cattle and sold the rest. After the war I came to town and worked for wages.
--an irregularly employed laborer, Case No. 10, full-blood.

433 This is the way these men see the problems, and whether or not
592 they are correct in their appraisal is beside the point. The important thing is that, for various reasons, many men failed to make a go of ranching and farming while a few others did. The successful ones appear

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433 increased the need for additional capital, but funds were not available
[434] to meet the demand. Periods of declining employment, i.e., the
[464] recession of 1957-59, cut into individual earnings from wage labor. No
[458] proven oil fields had been tapped and interest in oil exploration
[315] decreased. When individual and tribal earnings fell off, the demand on
[651] welfare funds increased. The Council contributed the greatest share to the county welfare program, so the relief the people received was yet another drain upon tribal income.

643 Tribal self-government suffered under these pressures. It was
184 difficult to get a majority of the tribe to support any political or economic measure. The Council, itself split on issues, despaired of tribal unity:

643 652 434 184

> Members of the Blackfeet Tribe are generally very poor. Their income is meager and consists mostly of income from leased trust land, casual labor, and participation in Tribal programs operated with Tribal income. It is very difficult to convince these people that Tribal income should be assigned for any purpose. Most of our people see only the spectre of having their income, and consequently Tribal programs and their direct benefits, diverted into programs designed for only more progressive members of the Tribe. To these people, it is a matter of personal survival. Any possible reduction in Tribal income to them automatically means a reduction in personal income.
>
> . . .until at least thirty per cent of the adult population of the Tribe becomes self-supporting and thus able to plan and to think in terms of the future, it appears that programs requiring popular approval for use of locally supervised Tribal funds will certainly be limited to those programs which meet the daily emergency needs of members of the Blackfeet Tribe.[165]

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[127] [165] Letter from the Secretary of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 3, 1960, unpublished documents of the Blackfeet Tribal Council.

TABLE 1

SELECTED DATA FROM THE SOCIOCULTURAL FIELD SCHEDULE

Case No.	Age	Degree Indian			Marital Status	Children	Education	FFA 4-H Equiv.	Military Service	Travel	Type of Work
		Self	Father	Mother							
2	28	9/16	5/8	1/2	S		12	X	X	Occ.	family ranch
3	26	5/8	5/8	5/8	M	4	8				seasonal labor
5	20	7/16	3/8	1/2	S		12	X		Little	regular labor
6	32	1/16	Wh.	1/8	Div.	2	10		X	Occ.	seasonal labor
7	25	1/16	Wh.	1/8	S		14+	X		Occ.	ranch, seas. lab.
9	29	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	4	9	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
10	44	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	8	8		X		irreg. wage labor
11	30	5/8	1/2	3/4	M	5	10	X	X		seasonal labor
13	52	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	5	8		X	Occ.	irreg. wage labor
14	25	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	1	7	X			irreg. wage labor
17	34	1/2-	1/2	7/16	M	9	6	X	X		regular labor
18	43	15/16	4/4	7/8	Div.	1	9	X	X	Some	irreg. wage labor
19	43	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	2	15	X	X	Cons.	promoter
21	41	1/16	1/8	Wh.	M	7	8	X	X	Occ.	ranching
25	74	3/8	1/4	1/2	M	7	4			Occ.	ranching
26	23	7/8	4/4	3/4	S		10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
27	40	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	4	8				irreg. wage labor
28	22	33/64	5/8	15/32	M	2	10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
29	52	1/2	1/2	1/2	S		6			Occ.	irreg. wage labor
30	44	1/8	Wh.	1/4	M	2	12		X	Cons.	promoter
31	24	9/16	1/8	1/2	M	1	7+	X		Occ.	ranching
32	56	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	7	6				disab. pension
34	24	1/2	1/2	1/2	M	1	12	X		Little	irreg. clerical
35	57	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	4			Cons.	rancher
37	25	13/16	3/4	7/8	S		7			Occ.	irreg. wage labor
38	57	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	7	10			Cons.	trade
39	21	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	2	9	X			irreg. wage labor
42	64	1/2	Wh.	1/4	M	6	8			Occ.	regular labor
45	39	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	6			Occ.	trade, ranching
46	45	1/4	1/4	1/4	S		10		X	Cons.	regular labor
47	62	4/4	4/4	4/4	Sep.	3	8		X	Ext.	irreg. wage labor

[87] [575] [701] [484] [464] 184 177 121 106

Explanation of the Data Selected

106 121 177 184 [871] [127] [575] Education is given in years of attendance. This is little more than an index of exposure to white education, as individual differences in receptivity, attendance, achievement, motivation, learning, and differences among schools attended, are not revealed by such an index. Some additional information was obtained from school records and will be used where applicable.

F.F.A., 4-H, or Equivalent records participation in youth organizations as an index of exposure to another area of training in the values and techniques of the dominant culture.

[484] [701] Military Service and Travel are considered to be indicative of a wider contact and experience with other than reservation people, and of increased exposure to elements of white culture.

[464] Type of Work reflects, among other things, a state of training and experience posed against the available employment on the reservation, and it is some measure of economic achievement. A man categorized as working at "irreg. wage labor" is one who works sporadically during the periods when work is available. Other men, who are generally steadily employed during the work season are classified "seasonal labor." One man is rated as "reg. farm labor," because he lived with his employer and worked throughout the year at whatever required doing. Other categorizations are relatively clear, with the exception of "promoter," which is used to cover a multiple source of income. The men so labeled may have income from investments, elective office, land promotion projects, oil speculation or several other sources.

[434] Average Income records the subjects' estimate of their annual earning capacity and is but a rough index of subsistence. The figure

128 106 The type of work a man does measures, in some degree, his work attitudes, motivation and the level of experience necessary for finding employment at this kind of job. The type of work may also have status meanings, a possibility that will be explored later.

This information serves to weight the raw income figures that follow. The type of work indicates a range within which the annual [464] income might be expected to vary. For purposes of obtaining indices, employment is broken down into six categories and scored as follows:

Irregular wage labor	0 points
Steady seasonal wage labor	1 points
Regularly employed - labor	2 points
Regularly employed - trade or clerical	3 points
Regularly employed - participant in a family enterprise, business or ranch	4 points
Self-employed - profession, business, ranch or farm (including two cases labeled "promoter")	5 points

Average income is judged to be some index of an individual's success at his particular employment, and a measure of the relative [434] status of the job. The figures used here are the estimated cash earnings of each man for the year 1959, and these figures are arbitrarily scored by dividing the range of average annual incomes into six parts with each part given a rank score:

$ 1 - $1,000	0 points
1,001 - 2,000	1 points
2,001 - 3,000	2 points
3,001 - 4,000	3 points
4,001 - 5,000	4 points
5,001 - and over	5 points

Use of land and land ownership reflect the interplay of numerous variables. Land use is affected by regional and topographical differences. However, wherever land is owned it represents potential income, and its

TABLE 4

ECONOMIC SCORES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROBABILITY SAMPLE AND THEIR ECONOMIC INDICES

Case No.	Type of Work	Income	Uses Land	Home Ownership	Type and Condition	Auto and Condition	Part Family Support	Uses Welfare	Total
2	4	2	2		4	3	1	1	17
3	1	2	1			1	2	1	8
5	2	1			2	2	1	1	9
6	1	2		2	2	3	3	1	14
7	4	2	2		3	3	1	1	16
9			1		2		1		4
10		1	1	2	1		1		6
11	1	1		1		1	2	1	7
13			1	2	3	2	2	1	11
14				3		2	1		6
17	2	1		1		1	2	1	8
18		1	1				3	1	6
19	5	5	3	3	4	3	3	1	27
21	5	4	3	3	3	1	3	1	23
25	5	2	3	4	2	2	3	1	22
26					1			1	2
27				3			2		5
28		1			2	2	3		8
29						1	3	1	5
30	5	4		2	4		3	1	19
31	4	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	15
32			1	3			2		6
34	2	2		2	2	2	1	1	12
35	5	5	3	4	3	3	3	1	27
37					1		1		2
38	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	1	19
39					1			1	2
42	2	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	16
45	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	21
46	2	2	1	1	2		3	1	12
47			1	3			3		7

Low Status

184 177 565 Low status people, generally, are the least educated and least trained in the skills essential to regular employment. Consequently, they are often irregularly employed, live in poor houses, dress poorly, and have few possessions. Poverty is a condition shared by all low status people.

White and white-oriented people tend to lump low status people together regardless of orientation. While this is reasonable by many criteria, such judgements overlook cultural factors that make a white-oriented man different than his Indian-oriented counterpart. These distinguishing characteristics will be seen more clearly in the later discussion of the low status Indian-oriented.

[464] The low status stratum encompasses a range from hard working, but irregularly employed men at the top, to a few improvident individuals at the bottom of the scale.[188] The more ambitious of this class actively seek work and are considered to be good workers by those who know them. However, the jobs they find are seasonal and provide insufficient income for economic stability.

[167] [464] In general, low status men express little commitment to success and progress. One of the men interviewed had gone on relocation, but found the work too difficult so returned to his family. Another remarked that the relocation program was intended to help the Indian find work.

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[188] The hard working low status white-oriented are represented in the probability sample by Cases 3, 17, 29, and 28; two white-oriented idlers were identified and described by informants but none were in the sample.

184 He, with an average annual income of $2,250, had thought about going
177 on relocation, but never applied. "I don't have much trouble getting
565 a job," he said.

[167] None of the low status men among the sample own their own
[464] homes. Two talked about fixing things up around home but had not made
[434] improvements that would be expected if they were concerned about
[356] material comfort. Housing appears to be poor and inadequate when eight
[342] to eleven people live in a two room shack. Yet the head of such a
[426] household responded to a question about the availability of Federal or Tribal home improvement loans by saying: "Yes they have a setup for that. I guess we could get a loan like that if we needed it."

When asked about future plans, these men have little to offer. They express little expectation beyond returning to the old job, or finding a similar one, each spring. The inference is that they are not dissatisfied with present conditions. Family responsibilities, lack of credit, uncertain employment, the weather and the seasons, are the factors that govern the economic condition of the low status men. It is unlikely that these men can be "successful" but they try; the idlers are those who have given up.

[735] The improvident ones, at the bottom of the scale, have lost any initiative they once might have had. Most of these, like their Indian-oriented counterparts, are called "winos" and "bums" by their fellow
[733] townsmen. Some are alcoholics in fact, others in name only. These men are community problem cases--the concern of the police and welfare authorities.

Yet these men are white-oriented in spite of the apparent lack of commitment to the values of their group. First of all they are

177 society. These people are poor. Some are hard workers and others
184 improvident, but lack of training limits these men to irregular wage
565 labor. They A do not find regular seasonal jobs but must take work where
554 and when they can find it. Several of the improvident ones, like their
[464] white-oriented counterparts, are called "bums and winos" and are problem cases for the authorities. But there is a difference between men of the differing orientations even at the lowest status level. They face in different cultural directions, and the indices show that the Indian-oriented low status man is more a part of his society than the lower class white man is in his.

In contrast with the white-oriented group, economic factors fail to separate the low from many of the middle status people in Indian-oriented society. Irregular work, low income, poorly maintained and crowded houses are characteristics shared by people variously ranked on the status scale. The ultimate criterion for status assignment is social participation.

Low status people do not take part in as many social activities as do the people of higher positions; they are often present, but usually as onlookers. It is significant, however, that they are not isolated from their group as is often the case with the improvident white-oriented person. The low status Indian-oriented man is welcome
[627] to attend Indian activities if he behaves. If he misbehaves he is eased out, perhaps locked up in the jail, but people do not disown him for this. They joke about it as if his actions were to be expected, and welcome him back when he settles down. If he behaves he may be given a job to do, such as ushering, police duty, or helping with the

A [i.e., low-status Indian-oriented people--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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new calves. Under individual care most of the herds multiplied, and the agent felt satisfied with his experiment. More Indians applied when free cattle were given out in the next few years. On receiving $50 to $100 for the sale of a prime steer to the ration house they felt compensated for their past fortitude. Wheatley saw additional signs of progress:

> Calf Bull, Bear Robe and Medicine Shield have purchased teams of heavier horses, paying from $60 to $100 a team for them. In their houses the improvement is very perceptible by the number of bedsteads, chairs, good stoves, lamps, clocks and household utensils in use.[1]

Even in the west end of the reserve where the opposition was most severe, a few gave evidence of progress:

> . . . Little Axe, who, I may say, has set an example to all the other Indians, has a band of forty head of cattle, a good house with shingle roof, well furnished, an ice house, a milk house and a pig-sty.[2]

In 1900 there were nearly 600 cattle on the reserve, and the first bitter opposition was gradually being worn down by the obvious success of a few.

During the nineties we hear more and more of working for wages. Alexander McGibbon, inspector of agencies, observed with satisfaction in 1891 that four Indians were mowing hay at $2.50 plus partial board per week. Wages were paid to the gang who went into the Rockies to cut logs for houses on the reserve, to the men who dug the irrigation ditch for the gardens of the North Camp, to the teamsters who beat their oxen all the way to High River with coal for the Roman Catholic school. As whites came into the region, more and more young men hired out individually to farmers and ranchers, getting 75 cents a day for binding and 50 cents for threshing. Others remained all summer to help break horses, round up the cattle, and stack the hay. Cash also came from the sale of skin coats and moccasins.

The old bands had subdivided into smaller groups that were of a more suitable size for carrying on gardening activities. The new ways of earning a living broke these units down still more. The original band organization was a suitable social structure for a collective nomadic life but not one likely to flourish under sedentary conditions where individual accumulation is rewarded. The early

[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

511 A wealthy Blackfoot who owned cattle at the time[A] described the conditions on the reserve, showing clearly the narrow distribution of wealth:

Before selling the land, things were tough. I would go on ration day and get a quarter of beef and then have something to help out with. My wife was good and generous, and the meat would be divided among the relations and neighbours. There were others, too. Some old bachelors with no wives were also boarded by my wife. A few were related to her, but the rest were not.

In winter it was hardest to get cash for groceries. Indians would ask for our sleigh to haul coal; one would go to the mines and haul coal to the office. When he got back, another man would want it. My wife finally said, "Let them have the sleigh to make money." These hard times kept on year after year.

[657] When over and above these rather normal difficulties for the poor, free rations were withdrawn entirely, and the self-support rations introduced, poverty became grimmer and hunger more acute. Certainly many chiefs, who were responsible for the welfare of the poor, had neither the herd nor the necessary cash to buy beef. The result was a frantic search for subsistence, which one informant describes as follows:

[How did people get along without rations?] People had a hard time, but the ones that were working all the time got by all right. People could sell dry wood to white men. The ones without work were very hungry. People with grub gave to the others. This lasted for about a year; if it had been two years, it would have been very hard. I worked as a hired man for white farmers. People were thrashing. Then there were odd jobs among the whites. People planted vegetable gardens which gave them some things to sell. When the crop was ripe, each harvested and divided his own vegetables. Others killed prairie chickens, rabbits and other game. All could barely manage for food.

[571] [464] [241] [224]

511 224 Another solution was to leave the reserve and hunt, which the following informant describes along with the effect of the absence of rations on ceremonial life:

In my 14th year (1909) at the Sun Dance there were more (cheap) tents than tipis. After two days every one went home because it was no fun. Then all our band moved to Hind Bull's camp. There Hind Bull said to my father: "We'll stay here until after treaty payment. Then we shall go 'way east and hunt." The women all picked berries and tanned hides. After the payment of treaty money, they bought ammunition and moved east. We would hunt every day and kill two or three deer and antelope. Mother made dried meat. She saved the bones and smashed them and cooked them to get fat. In summer father worked for whites, but in the winter they all hunted together on the Red Deer river.

A [i.e., ca. 1910--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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tourists, and occasionally carouse. The more conservative Indians eschew the Stampede. Forming a caravan of wagons "like old times," they proceed slowly to the Blood reserve. They pitch their tents on the gentle slope before Belly Butte to witness and rejoice in the Sun Dance of the Blood Indians.

By the end of July most have returned to the reserve. Food boxes empty and money gone, they must again turn to earning a living. Clusters of tents where a man and his brothers have joined to mow the prairie grass and haul it to the stock farm for feeding the calves in the coming winter are pitched for two or three weeks across the highlands of the reserve. It is hard but not unpleasant work. Saturday is pay-day. Immediately a hand game starts in one of the tents; night and day the whole week-end the drum-throb resounds with brief intermission across the range. On Sundays a big crowd from all over the reserve convenes for horse-races on a great plain where the men bet down to their last quarter on the bay or sorrel.

In the meantime others are busy stacking the bundles of rye and oats behind the mowers, happy in their luck to have the crop cut before it was destroyed by a sudden hail-storm. By September when the children have returned to the schools, the wheat is ready to harvest. Farmers eagerly await the threshing machine, so their crops may be finished early. Others are charged with moving the main herd of cattle to the winter feeding ground, while a lowing mass of calves is prodded into the corrals for wintering.

With farm work done, a tide of workers flows to the coal-mines. Some bring their families and move for the whole winter into the village of shacks that lies on the flat before the mine shaft. Others leave their families behind and don the miner's cap for a few weeks only. In full production scores of loads weigh in each week and are driven off to town. After work on Saturdays some people go to the movies in town, though many remain, crowding thirty or forty strong into one of the houses for a Deer Dance or a hand game.

By the time the first flurries of snow blow in from the west, the old people are settled in one of the clusters of log houses along the river. There, with rations, occasional money from the slaughter of a beef, and near to wood and water, they pass the winter with congenial friends who listen again to stories of a war party to the Crows. Certain younger man, hankering after a pool game in town, a bottle

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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Today in August nearly every able-bodied man turns out to cut the wild range grass and haul it to the stock-farm. Even in years of drought when fodder is scarce, the Indians are employed hauling hay purchased from farmers nearby. Thus every year the Indians benefit to some extent by haying or hauling.

The exact income to the Indians from haying is difficult to estimate, largely because of variation in growing conditions from year to year. Let us consider optimum conditions. There is a standing price of $5 per ton for wild hay brought to the stock-farm. The reserve produces in good years 1,200 tons, a quantity about sufficient for wintering the calves. Assuming that this is used only for the Blackfoot herd and is bought at the usual price by the stock-man, the total income from haying is about $6,000. This may decrease to $2,400 in years when there is no hay and only hauling from white farms is to be done. In this case Indians receive $2 per ton delivered at the stock-farm.

We have no statistics on the individual income from this source. Using a series of incomes from the year 1940-1[1] gathered from seven Indians, six of the seven derived some cash therefrom. The average cash from haying was $26, maximum $80, minimum $12. This source of income is generally considered to be a means of obtaining money during the time before harvest.

In general we see that the trust fund has provided a steady and fairly reliable source of income for the Indians from cattle. By furnishing a number of cash-paying jobs, more than the owners are benefitted. The return from this source has been increased further by improving the quality of the stock. It should also not be forgotten that the Indians derive double benefit from their cattle: they are paid by weight for a beef killed and they receive a part of the meat at the regular Thursday issue of rations.

Wages. We have arbitrarily divided our consideration of wages into three headings: (1) wages from work off the reserve, (2) wages from permanent jobs on the reserve, (3) wages from temporary jobs on the reserve.

(1) Jobs off the reserve. In 1940 this was relatively unimportant as a source of income for the Indians. Their total income from wages from all sources is estimated by the agency and varies from year to year. The figures given from 1918 to 1938 run from a minimum of about $2,000 to a maximum of $6,000. The trust fund pays out

[1] Cf. Appendix B.

[See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

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434 465 directly $2,000 per year to Indians on the reserve in wages for various services to be described subsequently. As this amount varies little, we may assume the difference between $2,000 and the total sum estimated constitutes the approximate amount earned by Indians while working off the reserve. By this calculation we estimate that Indians earn off the reserve sums varying from zero to $4,000. This wide fluctuation is a product of such factors as the demand for workers during good agricultural years and the satisfaction of Indians with the income which they earn on the reserve.

As a rule Indians hire out to whites to assist at roundup or in threshing. The pay varies from $1 to $4 per day, and some are eager to earn this extra money. Aside from such semi-skilled services, Indian labour is used relatively little off the reserve in normal times. Among the seven incomes from 1940-1[1] only one man worked off the reserve; he made $20 during harvest time as a field hand.

464 Since the advent of the trust fund, Indians have tended to seek employment only on the reserve. This has been reinforced by the agency policy of discouraging such activities as haying off the reserve. Pressure has undoubtedly been exerted by prejudiced whites who refuse to compete with or hire "lazy Indians whom we support by taxes anyway." In the summer of 1941 because of the war-time demand for workers, Indians were more frequently induced to leave the reserve to obtain work, e.g., in a sugar-beet processing plant. Because of high pay for labour off the reserve, there was an increasing discontent with reserve wage scales, which may swing the trend again towards finding more work off the reserve. In periods of general unemployment there are practically no off-reserve jobs for Indians available.

463 465 657 (2) Permanent jobs on the reserve. The following is a list of the permanent Indian jobs on the reserve, with approximate monthly salary schedule for each.

1	Interpreter	$60
2	Scouts for Mounted Police	$30
6	Assistant stock-men	$35
3	Semi-permanent miners (paid 30c per hour)	$35
1	Clerk for mines	$60 (5 months only)
1	Hospital assistant	$30

[1] *Ibid.*

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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A yearly total of $5,880 is paid fourteen Indians for these permanent jobs. The wages for the interpreters and the scouts for the Mounted Police are paid by the Dominion government. The assistant stockmen are paid with funds from the sale of beef. Those connected with the mines are paid from the operating revenue of the mines. The hospital worker alone is paid directly from the trust fund as part of the operating cost of the hospital.

These jobs[A] are filled by application to the person under whose jurisdiction the job falls, e.g., the white stock-man or, at the mines, the Indian "room-boss." With the exception of the hospital assistant these jobs do not require work six days of the week. At the stock-farm, for instance, a man wishing to leave for a few days may give his job to another. This is used as an argument by whites to show that the Indians are lackadaisical. However, the fact that these jobs are seldom open, and that seven of these jobs have been filled by the same Indian for over five years suggests the contrary. Some Indians do work constantly at certain jobs.

(3) Temporary jobs on the reserve are of two kinds: those handled by the agency or the white employees and those directed by the Indians themselves.

Temporary jobs handled by the agency or the white employees are filled by application to or at the request of the director involved. They depend on the season and the exigencies of the moment. They may involve greasing a tractor, painting a building (a man is even paid for painting his own house), mending a road, cleaning a corral or a well, or stopping leaks in a roof. No doubt individual competence and industriousness play a part in securing these jobs. The farm instructor who knows that an Indian is careful and efficient in his work is more apt to employ him than one who is less reliable. Availability is another factor. A man who lived near the stock corral said he never was without a job when he wished one, as the stockman always came to him first when in need of help. The agent, too, occasionally gives a needy Indian a note addressed to a particular white employee asking that he be employed. Consistent with this policy of giving jobs to the needy, some Indians with considerable cash in their accounts at the agency are not employed at the agency-controlled jobs. The agency allocates approximately $7,000 as wages to Indians for temporary jobs. This sum comes from a variety of sources such as deduction from the income from cattle or grain as well as from interest on trust funds.

A [i.e., permanent jobs on the reserve--Analyst]

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465 The returns to the workers for these jobs vary; some jobs pay by the hour or day, others on a contract basis when the job is finished. Jobs by the week pay $6 to $10, depending on their complexity. Running the tractor pays nearly $10, repairing a broken culvert not so much. Painting a building and shed recently brought $25 to the painter, and took about two weeks. Of the seven Indians whose income we investigated, only three were employed on such temporary jobs; these three earned during the year totals of $16, $24, and $45.

464 The number of jobs available varies with the time of year. Before the Sun Dance in June, when most Indians are eager to obtain more money, jobs are scarce. On the other hand, in the fall the demand for workers is quite great, there being a need both in agriculture and at the mines. It is hard to get interpreters and seventy-year-old informants then. Some individuals, however, report themselves chronically unable to obtain jobs at any season: one man stated that he was shunted from mining instructor to agent to farm instructor for eight days before he could get work.

466 Jobs for wages under Indian management differ from the same jobs under white management with respect to requirements for taking the jobs, wages, and obligations of employer and employee. With Indians a job is not solely a contract to carry out certain services in return for wages. Hiring is by invitation. The relation of employer and employee to each other implies warm affection, mutual sharing, and concern over the future welfare of the other. The following case illustrates this relationship:

After getting out of school, Philip worked for his brother-in-law, an Indian who
466 was farming one of the largest acreages on the reserve. Philip was paid one third
of the return from the crop plus food, clothing and housing. He was given per-
465 mission to use his employer's team and wagon in order to earn extra money which he would share with his employer. From time to time Philip's employer would give him $5 to $10 which he spent as he wished. When the crop came in Philip received about $100.

466 This is fairly typical. A frequent requirement for candidates for a job is blood or affinal relationship to the employer and that the employee be younger than the employer. Behaviour is patterned in accordance with the usual younger brother-older brother rela-
466 tions in the kinship system. The cash wages are uncertain in amount
465 and frequency of payment. However, when the employer has cash, he is expected to give some to his employee. In addition the em-

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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ployee expects to be fed, housed, and sometimes also clothed; he hands over his own rations and occasionally contributes to the larder from his own money. There are further mutual obligations. An employer or employee would be considered wanting if he did not make an occasional gift of a shirt or tobacco to the other. The use of teams and wagons is frequently extended to the employee by the employer for going to town or making extra money. Should the employee wish to marry, he is expected to consult his employer as well as his own parents and, if approval is given, the employer, like the boy's parents, makes a present to the bride's family. After the marriage the bride is expected to live in the employer's house and help with the housework. If the employee is going to leave his job permanently, perhaps to start a farm of his own, the employer helps him with horses, furniture, or farm equipment. An employer who did not perform these duties would be much criticized.

About one half of the Indian farmers and certainly the one Indian stock-raiser employ young men during the year to help them on this basis. Horse-raisers are apt to need help all year round. The wages paid are difficult to estimate. Only one Indian pays regularly in cash; he pays $20 per month plus food and lodging. There seems to be no definite wage scale; frequently food and lodging is all that is expected plus occasional gifts of spending money. This is particularly the case where the job is short-lived. To convert these wages into cash is difficult and in a sense meaningless, but we estimate that the wages come to about $137 per year. The estimate is made on the basis of 50 cents for groceries per week, $35 for clothing, and $50 a year for spending money.

The number engaged in this kind of work is uncertain. It consists of a large portion of the male population between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. These young men have little or no property of their own and work out in this manner or on their father's place until they get their own farms. Probably fifty young men are so engaged.

Trapping. Though hunting is neither a source of income nor of diversion today, there are about five Indians who annually secure a $1 licence from the agency to trap muskrats and beavers. In February and March these men set their traps and, acting as bosses, induce others to trap too. When there are about 100 skins, the man with the licence takes the catch to the agency which forwards the

316 mine offers for sale at cost such necessary equipment as dynamite, picks, fuses, etc. These are purchased by the miner or room boss, the cost being deducted from the sum he receives for coal. Developmental work such as the opening of new rooms, laying of new tracks, timbering, and purchase of cars is paid for from the operating fund.

316 To work at the mine an Indian usually goes in late September
466 or early October when the demand for coal is greatest. Assuming that he has obtained a job by applying to the room foreman, the new miner must make an initial outlay of about $35 for equipment. A miner's cap, carbide, flints, a pick, etc., come to $25, and this is deducted in small amounts from the pay of the room where he is working, being passed on to the new miner as deductions from his
316 weekly wage. The average miner in good weeks when coal is in
465 demand will make between $6 and $10 a week. Most men work only a few weeks in order to obtain cash, and quit when they have what
316 they need. Others have built more of their existence around the
464 weekly pay and work steadily all winter. Certain applicants have been discouraged by the doctor from doing this work even part-time
[464] in view of the all-too-frequent tendency towards tuberculosis. It is not, therefore, a field open to everyone.

316 The total income from the mines is limited among other things by the available market. Most towns in southern Alberta have mines in the vicinity, and the town fathers have made ordinances forbidding the peddling within town limits of coal originating elsewhere than in their specified areas. The Blackfoot mine produces coal for the reserve and most of the area adjoining the eastern end of the reserve. This includes white farms in the vicinity, the reserve schools, the agency, the Blackfoot households and any trucker who may come asking for a few tons. However, this is the only market for the coal at present, and there is little immediate prospect of its increasing.

489 Formerly Indians could make $5 or more per week by hauling
[434] and peddling their coal in adjacent towns. This secondary source of income has been prevented by the town ordinances mentioned and by the difficulty of Indians competing with trucks. The only hauling
[434] job left involves taking coal to the agency and schools. Though this pays $2 per load, it takes relatively few trips to provide for these needs.

231 (2) *Horse raising.* A visitor will be struck by the large number
[422] of unbroken horses that roam the reserve. These animals all bear the Blackfoot brand, a lazy "S," and a number indicating the particular owner.

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All these men[A] share only two sources of income, annuities and wages. Though all derive income from such miscellaneous sources as receiving cash gifts, trapping, or running a taxi, there is considerable diversity. Four of the seven worked for varying periods at the mines during this twelve-month period. Three of the four who own cattle derive on the average over half of their income from this source. Only two are farmers.

These seven earners seem to fall into three classes. We refer to the individual informants by the letters *A* to *G*.

(1) *A*, *B*, and *C* represent the propertyless class which is dependent chiefly on wages. *A* is employed almost continuously as an assistant miner at the coal mines and he receives a weekly wage. *B* and *C* work much less regularly, but when they are in need of cash, they work until their requirements are satisfied. In this class are mainly single men like *B* and *C*. Once out of school they turn to helping relatives who own property, working for them as hired men and contributing what they can through their own earnings. Also in this class are the farmers who become discouraged because of adversities. *A* is such a person, having previously owned his own farm, but three years of total crop failure sent him to the mines for a more dependable income. There are also persons in this class who have been deemed by the agency incompetent, shiftless, or ne'er-do-wells. At one time they may have received the benefits of the trust fund property issues, but for varying reasons the property thus acquired has been lost. Now under agency disapproval they have little more than a house and rations.

(2) The second class owns property which is utilized, but because of the individual aspiration level, must supplement this income from other sources. *D* and *E* are such persons; both have sufficient property to live modestly, but they supplement their incomes in several ways. *D*, although he owns a farm, made so little from it that in order to achieve his aspirations, he worked in the mines all winter. He earned extra money by threshing for white farmers and by performing jobs for the farm instructor. *E* also could live from the sale of his cattle alone, but he, too, has other activities. He hires his relatives to work in a haying gang during July and August. Throughout the year he works at the ration house, assisting in the butchering and distribution of the weekly rations; for this he receives additional quantities of meat. Younger members of this class of earners, e.g., the newly married and those starting out to farm, do not have

[A] [i.e., the seven informants--Analyst]

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anything like the cash income of *D* and *E*. Many of the group, however, have set high levels of aspiration which they feel obligated to maintain. Because they are energetic and aggressive, they have a fairly comfortable existence. The group contains mostly middle-aged property holders who have learned, and do not object to, white techniques of making a living. Those labelled "progressive" are included here, for they have been willing to give up some of the Blackfoot folkways to acquire some of the comforts of the white man. A few of the older men who feel themselves in the role of the old-fashioned band chief fall into this category also. They are hard workers, sagacious with their property, and eager to give the appearance of personal accomplishment. They are among the tribe's most influential and aristocratic members.

(3) The third class owns property of sufficient size to make some sort of living and is willing to live within the limits of these earnings with a minimum of supplement. *F* exemplifies this class, as he works for wages only at critical times when a pressing demand for extra cash arises. Before Christmas he earned $5 by working one week at the mines and did not return through the remainder of the year. Before the Sun Dance, again in need of cash, he sold his radio to a neighbour. *G*, another example, derives his income mainly from farming, and he rarely adds to this income with wages. Included in this class is the so-called "old Indian" who is not concerned with work except as a means to feed, clothe, and shelter himself, and to contribute fittingly on religious occasions. As in buffalo days, when people hunted only if the bags of dried meat were running low, so today these people work mainly to satisfy their immediate needs. Property is important mainly if it helps to obtain these satisfactions more easily. Another kind of individual in this class is the discouraged one who feels that he has been prevented by the present state of affairs from obtaining satisfaction. Feeling blocked by the agency or sensing unjust treatment of the Indians, he has ceased to exert himself, believing his effort to be useless.

Apart from motivation factors, we may note merely the nature of these classes in so far as they concern the economy. An individual may alter his class as an earner. Certainly many who once were energetic earners have become discouraged and given up. In general most young Blackfoot earners begin by living at home or with someone and become later property-owning householders. Furthermore these classes are not qualitatively distinct but may be thought

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objects that circulate, and this places the Blackfoot at a disadvantage when dealing with Indians from other reserves where a relatively larger portion of the wealth is exchangeable. Hence on reserves with broader ranges of income wealthy Indians may outdisplay the reputedly wealthy Blackfoot. To save face, the latter use part of their precious cash for inter-reserve gifts. Hence the Blackfoot are fundamentally dependent on currency to supply not only the demands of whites but also the demands of outside Indians.

Distributing Mechanisms

The present distributing mechanisms on the reserve may be divided into two groups: (1) those mechanisms introduced by the agency associated chiefly with production on the reserve; (2) those which are retained, though perhaps in a modified form, from the social fabric of pre-reserve days.

Most of the productive system introduced by the agency also acts as a distributive system furnishing to some extent jobs for persons not directly engaged in production. The various deductions from the sale of commodities, for threshing grain or for wintering calves, and the portion of the mine income devoted to maintenance provide additional jobs of a service category. Similarly the hay collected is paid for out of the gross receipts of cattle owners and goes to the harvesters or transporters. In this sense the agency hospital, the police system, and the numerous other activities in which Indians are employed for varying periods, constitute a portion of the distributive system.

A system of distribution for which the trust fund is indirectly responsible is the transfer of certain kinds of property at death. It will be recalled that there are two kinds of property: (1) work horses, wagons, land, houses, and cattle which are non-exchangeable; (2) other objects which may be disposed of without limitations, i.e., range horses, furniture, sacred bundles, and most things that have not been purchased at trust expense. Farm implements, if purchased by one's own funds, may or may not be considered as disposable property, depending on whether the agent feels that the transfer would affect the general welfare of the reserve. Certainly should this disposal bring disuse, it would be forbidden by the agent.

To guard against the uncontrolled transfer of property at death the agent has encouraged written wills. The Indians themselves had a kind of will wherein a dying man bequeathed his property in the

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unified control began. The farmer was handed his seed grain and was paid by the agency to plough and sow his land. The cash returns were doled out at the discretion of the agency. Similar control was extended to haying and trapping operations. The agency controls almost every job for cash wages, to say nothing of the all-important periodic issues of farm equipment, horses, clothing, and food.

During the eighties and nineties of the preceding century, gardening, haying, and cattle raising were carried out under the direction of an Indian head-man who supervised the requisite operations, disposed of the product, and paid his men partly in welfare benefits and services. But today each Indian is an individual worker for the agency. The bargaining position of the head-man and his gang is gone. The operation is fixed; the disposal of the product is out of the hands of the worker; and the returns from his labour bring in cash only. He is paid to work his own land and maintain his own house. There remains only the option of accepting the opportunity to work, or chancing agency disapproval and subsisting on rations.

Except for the agency's primary obligation for the welfare of the Indians and its lack of special interest in showing a profit, its role is similar to that of a business enterprise. An important goal is to develop the reserve using wherever possible the labour resources of the resident population. The criteria of successful management, like a balance sheet for directors and stockholders, are its annual reports of production and income that go to Ottawa. When these figures stand high, administrative responsibility has been fulfilled, and the organization that is run for the benefit of the Indians is deemed to be doing its best. It brings the Indians the maximum returns, and they, by participating as labourers and receiving the net cash returns, are provided with their living.

The Blackfoot's standard of living has undoubtedly been raised. Through careful planning they have few lean months and more than just annuities as a backlog for depressed years. The poor are neither so threadbare as those found on other reserves, nor are the wealthy living in idle luxury. This result has not been brought about solely by managerial considerations of efficiency; the Indians themselves urged many a paternalistic feature, in the interest of retaining and extending this basic guarantee of subsistence.

(2) The former groups under a head-man or chief constituted not only the co-operative labour battalion but the group among

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word of a windfall spreads, a man still finds himself obliged to share with his kinsmen who come to eat from the newly abundant larder and return home a few days later with a horse or a blanket.

These familial groups are today better provided for through regularity of income. While fluctuations of fortune continue because of variable growing and market conditions, and while a herd of horses may diminish overnight from disease, the backlog of rations, jobs for wages and annuities, together with more effective technological controls, has helped to reduce serious reverses. As compared with the hazards to property of an enemy raid during buffalo days and the short life of an Indian pony when camps were continuously on the move, the forces stabilizing wealth have certainly increased. The larger investment in permanent property such as buildings, beef cattle, and farm implements, tends to be preserved by passing it on within a family, instead of destroying it or giving it away to the first comer. This continuity is fostered also by agency regulations forbidding the transfer of certain property.

A by-product of greater stability is the diminished possibility of status mobility, a key incentive in the old system of individual competition. While the Blackfoot still censures the lazy man who now merely lives from rations, and while the agency does encourage the industrious with jobs and issues of property, in many respects personal advancement is more difficult today. The error of favouritism has been successfully avoided by the agency, and there is always a considerable number waiting for the agency hand-outs. Hence there lies no broad avenue for the ambitious. As compared with buffalo days, the capital investment necessary to become productive is much larger today. Formerly one could aspire to a herd of horses, the product of a successful war career, by starting only with patience, fortitude, and prayer—even without borrowed weapons. Today, before a crop can be raised, even with trust benefits, one must wait for land, take one's turn for the issue of two teams of horses and then with loaned equipment look forward to the magical convergence of a productive year with a high price for the crop. Cattle are unobtainable, except through a relation's death or an agency donation, and having reached in any case the limit of available pasturage on the reserve, one can expect little from this source. As for jobs, the permanent ones yield only a meagre income and the temporary ones are mainly helpful in tiding over an emergency. Even the ambitious could ascribe getting ahead to luck rather than pluck.

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Have these needs inferred by whites actually been satisfied? No, because despite rations, rent-free houses, educational opportunities, a hospital, and old-age pensions, we still find many instances of behaviour showing that these needs still exist. In spite of rations, the largest fraction of Blackfoot income goes for groceries. Blackfoot still build houses for themselves even though they have already been provided with houses. Some Blackfoot have paid for courses in technical schools in Calgary, a few leave the reserve to attend boarding-schools, while others have sought to enter the town schools. Though the sick frequently go to the Blackfoot hospital, others hire the services of medicine-men or white physicians in neighbouring towns. Few Indians cease to work at fifty when they first receive old-age benefits. Thus we may infer that despite the presence of means satisfying their needs, these needs are not fully satisfied. At best the trust fund helps diminish the urgency of some of them.

A somewhat tender-minded visitor who was acquainted with the existing economic structure might come away from the reserve with a different impression. He might be struck with the difference in the Indian's standard of living as compared with the white's. The houses are small, frequently in rather poor repair. In some places the wells are dry, and Indians must travel to the river, a distance of several miles, to obtain water. Wood for fires must also be gathered at this distance. Sanitary facilities are often dirty, in poor repair, and sometimes lacking. Interiors are sometimes unkempt, bedding patched, and not too clean. Furnishings are adequate in some houses, but in others there may be little more than a mattress in the corner for a bed. Modern conveniences practically do not exist: only one house has running water; three houses have electricity. Though a fair sprinkling of hand-driven washing and sewing machines exists, other households seem to lack even soap and thread. A few men own automobiles, but most travel by horse and wagon. As compared with middle-class whites, there is obviously a lower standard of living among the Indians on the reserve.

Do the Blackfoot feel a need for an improved standard of living? An unqualified answer cannot be given. Certain improvements seem to be rather universally desired, while others are seldom referred to. Judging by the activity shown in these directions, Blackfoot would like more food, better clothing, warmer housing, and larger amounts of furnishings. Many informants went to the nearest store as soon

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Another said:

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> We have money [probably referring to the trust fund], but we cannot get any of it.

A third, on being asked what he would do to make the reserve better, said:

> I would let everyone make as much money as he wants. Now a man can only work a certain length of time, and he is laid off. They say, "He has worked enough. Get another man in his place."

One man was commenting on earning a living by agriculture under the present circumstances. In reference to living on his farm in the agency-constructed house, he said:

> There is no use living in a fine house if you are unable to make a living.

Three young men recently left the reserve for a fortnight in order [467] to get a job that paid better than reserve jobs; they felt that the [464] reserve jobs did not pay enough.

We see here that despite living on one of the wealthiest reserves in Canada, these people feel that their needs for money are not satisfied. Though they may give varying reasons as to why they are not satisfied, the central theme is the complaint that they cannot make a living under the circumstances. Cash incomes, it will be 434 recalled, vary from about $2,000 per year in the case of a "wealthy" Indian or two, to merely the $30 annuity and treaty money in the case of children and indigents. The average cash income probably lies between $300 and $400 for persons gainfully employed. It must, however, be recalled that the trust fund benefits, if reduced to cash terms, would raise the figure by $50 to $300 or more, depending on the benefits received through age, size of family, receipts of clothing and equipment.

We have never had the effrontery to ask a Blackfoot directly why 511 he wishes more money, because we were impressed with the obvious 123 difference between ourselves and the Blackfoot in terms of the amount of property possessed. Conversation with an Indian visitor in our tent was frequently started by the visitor's admiration of our air mattress, suitcases, or blankets. There followed an inquiry about the price and frequently a comparison between the prices of various articles in Canada and the United States. Obviously any of our visitors would have been eager to own a number of the articles which we possessed, articles which were not even our "best" possessions,

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longer directors of their followers, sole dispensers of benefits, or autonomous authorities within their circle of followers. These functions have largely disappeared with the new agency-managed economy. A director is no longer needed where people work independently and scattered over the reserve. As men have their own fields to tend, they are too busy to seek employment as members of a chief's haying gang. Jobs for earning cash are given out directly by the agency or the farm instructors. Today a chief may have to round up his own horses before going to town, for the young "hired men" are busy elsewhere. Now that others have wealth equal or surpassing the chief's, there are many capable of helping the poor. Indeed, because of the broader distribution of wealth, there are few who correspond to the tattered, hungry persons of buffalo days. Without his followers at his side, the chief's influence as arbitrator and keeper of the peace has been limited. Roads are better, people more accessible, and the agency influence reaches into every corner of the reserve.

Another aspect of the old pattern leading to confusion is the question of a chief's jurisdiction. In theory the elective system of today implies a council made up of members chosen from the reserve at large with all chiefs accessible to every man. To some extent this occurs, for certain chiefs are consulted by a wide number of persons on the reserve. There is a lingering feeling, nevertheless, that each chief represents a certain group in the council of chiefs, just as the council of chiefs in buffalo days was made up of the leaders of separate bands. Frequently persons criticize all the chiefs except one, and will brook no criticism of that one from any quarter. Behind this usually lies a kin relationship to a particular chief; one is defending one's relative to whom one appeals in difficulties. In fact kinship is still the strongest factor binding a group of "constituent-followers" to a particular chief. There are also cases where a man may identify himself with a traditional band. If the head of this nominal band is a council member, he constitutes the man's chief. Geographical nearness, even unsupported by kinship or band affiliation, can reinforce identification with a certain chief. The system of electing chiefs on such a background leads to difficulties. Votes are cast frequently along family (the most important factor), band, and geographical lines, and failure of a candidate to be elected may leave a given group with the feeling of being without representation in the council. Instead of looking out for the welfare of all, certain

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our informants demanded special gifts when at their suggestion we drove them to distant parts of the reserve to be shown by them the exact location of a given episode. Indians also take great delight in telling whites of an incident where the Mounted Policeman broke an Indian injunction by passing in front of a sacred procession on the reserve. Within half an hour the police horse stumbled and broke its leg, throwing the policeman to the ground. This would teach the whites to have more respect for Indian beliefs.

To be sure there are friendly whites. When an Indian had run out of gasoline and was offered a few gallons by a railway employee, this man's generosity became widely known. The Ukrainian farmers, shunned by the English-speaking population, are generally considered to be good neighbours; they exchange milk, eggs, and garden produce with the Indians for surplus rations of tea and flour. From time to time they even furnish contraband liquor. Yet in all these contacts such hospitality as an invitation to meals is seldom shown an Indian by a white or accorded a white by an Indian.

Thus the vast majority of Indians remains voluntarily segregated on the reserve. Lack of employment opportunities in normal times have further contributed to this end. Maximum security is found on the reserve with people of their own kind. When they must leave, they go mainly in groups to places known for being receptive to them.

Such attitudes do not extend to the Blackfoot alone but characterize white attitudes towards Alberta Indians in general. Thereby solidarity among Indians living on different reserves has been fostered. Relationships with the Blood and Piegan have probably been warmer as a result, even though they were already friendly tribes in the past. More striking is the present amicable relationship with Crees who were once enemies. Thus, as though following inter-island trade routes through the sea of white culture, wagons travel frequently from reserve to reserve.

The nature of the interrelations between the reserves varies. There is some intermarriage, which implies occasional visits and, as befits a visit to one's in-laws, exchange of gifts. Particularly between the Blackfoot-speaking reserves where a common culture unites them, ceremonials such as the Sun Dance bring many to participate in as well as to witness the events. A considerable flow of ceremonial objects is found. Painted tipis, medicine bundles, and weasel-tail suits pass from hand to hand across reserve boundaries.

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and resides there with his wife. The occupant of the fourth house is called "younger sibling" by the old lady because he was raised by a co-wife of the old lady's mother. Such clusters of relatives are frequent throughout the reserve.

In these groups considerable mutual help exists. At harvest all able-bodied males and females may turn out. One person often obtains the weekly rations for the entire group of households, and on trips to town members of any household may ride in the wagon. As in the individual household the eldest male or female is the final authority in matters of common concern, though usually a senior woman returns the decision after its having been submitted to her, by saying to the eldest male, "It's up to you." When one of the extended family receives a good return from his crop of beef cattle, he is expected to share it with his relatives as gifts and food. Many visitors come on such occasions and should be given meat, blankets, money, or horses. Although in proportion to the individual's total income the amount of these gifts is smaller today than formerly, the importance of these obligations continues.

It should be borne in mind that there is comparatively little group stability, for change of residence is frequent. Many households have two residences, one for summer and another for winter. The summer residences, built at trust fund expense, were intended originally to be permanent, but the lack of insulation makes them unsatisfactory at low temperatures with high winds. Many have built cabins in the valley of the Bow River where shelter and access to water are more adequate. In this case the summer grouping of relatives may differ from the winter grouping, though both groupings are usually based on kinship. A young married couple lived with the husband's brother-in-law on the farm during the summer but with the husband's parents on the river bank during the winter.

Besides this seasonal change of residence, the character of employment may justify additional migration. In the winter many households are attracted to the mines. In spring and summer, work on the farms and later haying, not to mention the Sun Dance and the Tobacco Dance, may mean that some households reside not more than a few weeks in one place. Even then, however, kinship serves as the bond for determining where one shall camp. A man may live in his older brother's house during seeding, camp next to

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few Blackfoot have even the most elementary knowledge of subjects commonly taught in the village grammar schools. Their training is insufficient for graduation into higher white schools but is considered adequate for living on the reserve.

Many young men have remarked on the strangeness of the transition from school to reserve life. From a life where days are planned on a background of hours and minutes they proceed to a life with faint temporal structure. The food is strange and appears irregularly. Interests of people are no longer guided by duties to God or saint but by the harsher necessities of earning money. The personal authority of the matron or master is suddenly replaced by a set of maxims under the name of "listening to the words of your father." Aside from school friends a boy is acquainted only with his close kinsmen. Others are remote and strange. When leaving school is complicated by the fact that parents have separated and the households reorganized, the boy may be utterly lost. A lad in such a predicament was given a job as handy-man for two years at the school to ease the transition. Another without close emotional ties to the new household made frequent visits back to the school. In addition, few techniques taught in school are applicable to making a living on the reserve. Irrigated gardening and milk cattle furnish no preparation for a life of growing wheat, digging coal, and tending horses. These techniques must be hastily learned under the tutelage of some relative and the farming instructors.

For girls the transition is frequently even more difficult. From the school they enter reserve life practically immediately as a bride in a strange house away from their parents. Washing clothes in a washing machine and mechanical mixing of bread dough ill fit these girls for life in a house without running water or electricity. From the helpful hand of a mother-in-law or a sister-in-law they learn entirely new techniques that are suitable for living in houses and camping in tents.

Although the transition be rough, the young are quickly incorporated into the life of the reserve. The economy depends on young men, first as helpers and later as heads of family production units. Whatever the task, growing wheat, raising horses, mending the roads, dynamiting a seam of coal, the young form the body of labour for the agency-managed economy. They have become the bread-winners for their households. With many concepts established by their years of school life these twenty- and thirty-year-olds try

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dispatch the young from the room. As a result the old and the young tend to stay apart. The young band together for their own amusements where they may lampoon the older men and dismiss their sacred bundles as museum relics, which they would be glad to sell for cash. Seldom does one find older people at pool halls or hand games where young men gather. All conclaves of old men are sedulously avoided by the young. The oft-repeated stories of war and camp life in buffalo days are not only dull to young ears but so strange as to be unbelievable. Similarly, ceremonials and religious dances are defined as events for "old-timers," and the young occupy themselves elsewhere. When contact is unavoidable, the young remain respectfully silent or depart as unobtrusively as possible.

Though beset with difficulties, the path is clear. The young must keep apart and identify themselves more with white ways. In this direction some have attempted to advance their status by attending technical schools. Despite inadequate preparation in the reserve schools a few have succeeded in completing one or more of the courses. Yet once out of school with certificate in hand there are few opportunities to apply their knowledge. Even should their competence be recognized, Indians, who are supported by tax money, are, according to many whites, ineligible to compete with tax-paying citizens for jobs. On the reserve there is little encouragement to use these resources, for jobs requiring technical skills are filled by white employees. Should a reserve tractor need repair, the white mechanic is summoned from town. Thus, despite all desires, the young man is rejected by his model.

The devotee of white ways may still persist though confined to the reserve for the achievement of his goal, yet even in this limited sphere affairs are difficult. The council of chiefs with its positions held by older men is frequently out of touch with the exigencies of farming. For instance, only after many years was the complaint of the farmers heard, that a single team of horses tired too quickly to plough the fields in the time allotted. Then the council granted farmers two teams of horses. The uncertainties of income, however, are the greatest frustration, for every poor year brings the young men closer to the circumstances of the caricatured old Indian. Then as he gives up his hard-earned symbols of white culture and is forced to seek an alternative, he slowly comes to question the values for which he has been striving. If his child dies, his faith in the protection of white medicine and Christianity is shaken. If his livestock

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824 always could be blamed for failure to provide sufficiently well for
659 their followers. If such an event occurred in the past, however, the follower of a chief would move away to another chief in hopes that he would be better off. Today this is impossible for nowhere on the reserve can an Indian escape the agent. It is a rare individual who is willing to lose his share of the benefits by leaving the reserve, since the outside incentives are minimal.

622 Of course there used to be times of scarcity, when the chief was not blamed. This occurred doubtless because the followers identified their interests with the chief's. People endured lean periods serene in the knowledge that when plenty came again, the chief would see to it that they shared in it. All could see when there were no buffalo. Today even whites are perplexed by the vagaries of the price system and create scapegoats who appear to work against
829 their interests. Opportunity is now rare for Indians to identify their
659 interests with those of the agency. There is a historic proclivity to divide interests into those of Indians as juxtaposed to those of whites, so that the slightest irritation is regarded as another white injustice. There also lies in the back of the Blackfoot's mind the knowledge that abundant cash is being kept from him which a normal chief would never hoard, but would always share with his followers. The agency has given up explaining this demand, and the Indians are only frustrated in their attempts to get at these funds.

This lack of identification with the agency and the tendency to regard it as a foreign intrusion into Blackfoot life have further
[231] repercussions. It will be recalled that Indians in the past refused agency-given cattle because they not only sought to maintain their independence, but also feared a trick to oust them from the reserve.
[426] They still prefer to buy their own farm machinery rather than borrow the equipment made available through trust funds. This
[356] provokes no comment by white employees. Yet houses built at band
[423] expense are not repaired by the residents, since the houses are not considered their own. This behaviour is considered ungrateful and evokes much comment. When repairs are needed, the Blackfoot
[464] grumble at the agency for not caring about Indians. This rankling which separates agency and Indians is fostered by the practice of
[356] paying Indians to paint their own houses. This stands in striking contrast with the careful attention given to the repair of houses
[464] built by Indians. The agency also pays a man to plough and harvest his own field, so that farm work becomes accomplished as a concession to the agency. One works not for oneself but because it is a

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

job that the agency pays to have done. Similarly when donations of teams, furniture, and farm equipment are received from the agency, they are received as something deserved but long overdue and often given the treatment of a cast-off article for which one need have no responsibility. The Indians' failure to utilize the agency-given benefits and to work conscientiously is akin to sabotage of an ardently despised institution.

Of course the crowning frustration occurs when the despised foreign institution forces its will on the Blackfoot by dint of its control of the trust funds. Desperate efforts to dislodge this power have been made by individuals and groups who wrote letters to members of Parliament recounting the injustices they suffered. Hard-earned money has been spent hiring lawyers to institute litigation which would never be admitted into court. Individuals have been on the alert to detect signs of corruption or negligence of duty on the part of agency officials who, it should be said, have always manifested high ethical standards. Council meetings and petitions to Ottawa are alike fruitless in this system, for the complaints are merely handed from higher officials back to the officials in the field for action.

To such questions as why the Blackfoot are lazy, why they neglect their benefits, and why they are eager to get money without work, it is an oversimplification to reply that they have too much money or too many benefits. The real answer is that they would receive their benefits gladly, perhaps even use them well, if they could be brought to see the undertaking as their own endeavour and not one being done for the benefit of an alien group. Such frustration of self-expression is not a unique occurrence. This impasse exists to some extent on all Indian reserves where the management has been assumed exclusively by the agency. Among the Antlers in the United States, tribal government disappeared as an indigenous system, and their welfare came under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Farming has been a failure on their lands, but cash has been forthcoming periodically from leasing or selling their allotted lands to whites. As long as it lasts, the cash goes for short sprees with high living and ostentatious spending. Indian attitudes towards their benefactors are described by Mead as follows:

> The Antlers consider the government employees there for their benefit, to serve them, to be bullied, insulted, or wheedled as the case may be. The assumption on the part of the Antlers is that every employee seeks to evade his duties, betray his responsibilities, grow rich upon the possibilities of graft which are

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up at Fort Benton, the main trading post for the [443] [439]
Piegans in Montana. He worked as a teamster on
bull trains (wagon trains pulled by bulls) over the
old Whoop-Up Trail between Fort Benton and
Edmonton, Alberta. During these trips, he got to
know the family of a Piegan named Red Tail
Feathers and his two Blood wives, Mountain Lion
Woman and Woman's Word. Among the chil-
dren of this family was Bird Rattler and Awok-
Aki, or "Smart Woman," who became Joe
Beebe's wife. Their only child was Grandma's Joe
Beebe. When the boy was born, AwokAki was [845] [759]
not able to pass her afterbirth. Joe Beebe wanted
to get the white doctor, but the wives of Red Tail
Feathers had no faith in him and insisted on doc-
toring AwokAki themselves. She passed away
after six days.

Old Joe Beebe married again, but continued [736]
to provide for his two mothers-in-law. Mountain
Lion Woman raised little Joe for the first seven
years of his life. After AwokAki's death, this old [853]
lady took him to women who had babies so that
he could nurse from them. If they weren't avail-
able, she made broths for him, letting him suck
on her own dry breasts for contentment. His con-
tinued sucking finally caused milk to come from
her breasts, so that she was able to nurse her
grandson for some time. The old lady delighted in
showing off whenever visitors were around that
she could nurse the baby.

When young Joe Beebe was about seven, his [872]
father placed him in the Dunbow Boarding
School, where he stayed for most of the next
twelve years. Many other boys from this reserve
were sent to Dunbow. At the age of nineteen he [464] ●
returned to the reserve to work as interpreter and
scout for the Mounted Police. Although his [156]
speech and appearance led many to think of him
as a white man, he soon let his hair grow long
enough to braid and began to take part in the
frequent powwows. He became an excellent Grass [746]
Dancer, earning the right to dance with the [177]
Forked Stick during the Dog Feast, a ceremony [535]
our People had adopted from the Assiniboines. [554]

[p. 58-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Eagle Arrow. The eagle-bone whistle and the feathers are his Medicine. (Glacier Studio)

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the Brave Dogs. At the age of thirty-five he joined the Horns. 793 778

For several years Wings worked on his brother's farm and then on the reserve's agency farm. Because the agent liked Wings, he was often given pleasant jobs like driving to town in a buggy to pick up mail and groceries. Eventually the agent decided to set up Wings on a farm of his own. Wings chose a vacant piece of land on the reserve and became a "homesteader" (an option still open to members of the band). The agent loaned him eight good horses, a wagon, a [575] [561] 793 778 657 [464] [426]

[p. 156-A]

back down to Fort Benton. It was very dangerous to be alone out in that country, because of the enemy war parties. So my mother never saw my real father again. She then married Flying Chief, who was better known as Joe Healy. He was my stepfather. 586 587

Joe Healy had become an orphan when he was very young. His parents were camped in a tipi outside of Fort Whoop-Up, near Lethbridge. During the night, some enemy People from the west side of the mountains came and shot rifles into the tipi. They killed Joe's parents and his two sisters. He was wounded in the thigh. Two traders named Healy and Hamilton found Joe, who was still a little kid, so they buried his family and adopted him. He was doctored by some nuns, and later he was sent to school at Fort Shaw, in Montana. He was about the first boy on this reserve to go to school. He learned English and became a scout and interpreter for the Northwest Mounted Police. 736 587 [871] [191] [464]

I was at the Riot Sun Dance, the one during which Heavy Head tortured himself. I was sitting inside of the Medicine Lodge, near my grandfather, Iron Pipe, who was one of the Medicine Men. People would come up to him and bring him a filled pipe and sometimes an offering and he would pray for them. 793

As Rosie Davis grew older, she became a student of Miss Wells, an English lady who taught a number of Blood girls the ways of being housewives, British style. Her students became noted housekeepers and influential wives of men on the Blood Reserve. Even at her old age, Rosie Davis speaks very clearly, in a British accent, and uses very good grammar. 177 871

Rosie married Charlie Davis, also the child of a white father and a Blood mother. His father was the first government-appointed official for the Northwest Territories. His uncle was the mayor of nearby Fort MacLeod for many years. Charlie was still very young when his mother passed away. 144 [736]

[p.343-A]

when Congress might order the termination of Blackfeet local government (H.R. 1916, S, 1914; S, 1917; S, 1918; NA 1916b; 41 Stat. 3).

Hamilton's success in helping obtain a second round of allotments for the Blackfeet was tempered by a personal set-back in 1919. Hamilton's prominence on the reservation and the legal background he acquired while working with Mark Baldwin had, years before, led to his appointment as a United States commissioner. The appointment lasted but one year, when it was discovered that Hamilton was accepting fees for his work. United States commissioners were salaried officials. Although Hamilton's fees were illegal, it was apparently done without fraudulent intent. He had never drawn his salary as commissioner and apparently thought his income from the office was derived from fees similar to the system used for clerks in federal courts. In 1919, a jury found him innocent of wrong doing, but he lost his position as commissioner (FRC, 1919).

Far more detrimental to the well-being of the Blackfeet was the consequence of the European war and postwar economic dislocation on the reservation's cattle industry. Authorities had long recognized that the Blackfoot Reservation was primarily suited to cattle and sheep grazing. The Allotment Act of 1907 had recognized the reservation's limitations for crop agriculture when alloting the principal part of it for grazing. Since the mid-1890s the federal government, using Blackfoot funds acquired from land sales, distributed cattle to adult tribal members. By 1910, the Blackfoot cattle herds through further distributions and natural increase were large enough to predict a reasonable level of success for the enterprise. A series of drought years and severe winters between 1900 and 1908 retarded the development of the industry, but sufficient stock remained to ensure recovery. The development of irrigated hay fields appeared to solve the problem of winter feed.

The government cattle program, however, had the effect of enriching a few Blackfeet while most languished. Full-blood members of the tribe continued to take more pride in their horse herds than in cattle. Mixed bloods found it relatively

the Old-timer had told them that he was still chief around here and that he wasn't about to osculate anybody's posterior for a few groceries and that if they wouldn't issue him his commodities without a silly piece of paper then they could take their commodities and stuff 'em. Instead of using the term *ist-tćst-tin-ôhp-pey:* ration card, or referring to *ni-moch-tèst-tin-ôhp-pey:* my ration card, the Chief had showed his contempt for the situation by employing the word *gah-tsáh-tsis* which is usually reserved as a reference to playing cards or, infrequently, a colloquial reference to theatre tickets.

The Chief is really one of the great inspirations of my life. I find back-scratching ecstasy in the knowledge that even today, in the midst of a society which has so aptly been termed "effete and pusillanimous," this gentle, fearless old Indian chief still has the groin to tell the Federal Government where to go. Chief James White Calf of the Piegan Blackfoots will give you his love and his possessions and his life with an open heart, but all the money in the world could not buy a single hair from his stubborn old braids. Pride. Real pride! There is so damn little of it to be found.

It is really a tear-jerking realization that the Chief is almost the last survivor of a culture that will soon be gone completely. Even Jim is tossed in the tempest of this dying culture. Jim is an Indian through and through—and I could pay him no higher compliment—but he is faced with the problem of earning a decent living, and in order to do so he must either play a role of dumb Indian or become an Imitation White Man, neither of which roles suits Jimmy at all.

Because of the fact that there is so much unemployment among Indians—there simply is not enough work available—wide currency is given to the fiction that Indians are lazy bums. This burns me! Aside from the small number of street-corner loafers—and every culture and every community has its share of these—most of the Indians of my acquaintance invest a full measure of some kind of productive activity into each day. It really scorches my butt that anyone would judge an entire ethnic group by the conduct of a few drunken panhandlers, but this is precisely what a large number of persons do. They fail to take into consideration the fact that for every street-bum in an Indian community as well as in their own community there are hundreds of decent citizens at home patching the roof or washing the kids or reading the Bible.

When I left Montana four years ago, Jimmy was working at a lumberyard. I was there when the man drove up and said, "Do you want to work, Jim?" Jim, who was busily trimming cedar posts,

464 said, "Yah, I want to work." The man said, "When can you start?" Jim said, "Right now," and handing me the axe he said, "*Sáh-koh-y-nah*, you fix Dad he's lunches." And Jim went to work. Since that time he has been a janitor, a carpenter, a painter, a laborer . . . you name it! He has also done a lot of fire fighting. The Blackfoots, as [368] well as the other tribes in this area, are always on call to fight serious forest fires—sometimes they are flown to the scene of a conflagration as distant as Colorado or California—and they are the very best at that work.

Jim seldom if ever quits a job; the work runs out, that's all. And even when unemployed, Jim never spends an idle day. When no other source of income is available, he cuts fenceposts and firewood, hoping that he can find a buyer. I felt a tug at my guts when I discovered the other day that Jim had invested some of his few dollars in a mail order detective course—anything to try to establish himself in some sort of profession. Of course, Jim did not tell me this; I found portions of the course in his room.

427 Jim's real dream is to be able to lease some more land and to
426 build up his own herd of cattle. The grass is fine here, and Jim has a pretty good string of horses, but the winters are hard and long, so Jim needs a pretty substantial loan to winter a herd the first year. [643] He has tried to get a loan authorized by the Tribal Council, but to
657 no avail. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which was in great
622 measure beneficial (or at least so intended) to the Indians but which also opened the door to petty political shenanigans on the Reservation, deprived the Chief of any real authority and placed him rather in the position of a contemporary European king. The [643] Canadian Indians still retain their band chiefs, but on the Piegan Reservation it is the Tribal Council which handles business and political affairs, including the tribal funds and the employment, for
427 whatever purpose, of tribal lands. A great deal of the best Blackfoot
648 grazing land has already been leased to White ranchers, and this is a sore point with the Chief. He continually exhorts the Tribe to uti-
311 lize in their own endeavors more of the Reservation's resources,
185 to raise more cattle of their own. But there are racketeers even
622 among Indians, and the Chief has a lot of opposition. Several years ago, somebody actually took a shot at him. The bullet is still in the living-room wall.

643 Jim did tell me that he ran for Tribal Council but did not make it. Jim is a full-blood, and the Council is controlled by the breeds, the so-called "educated" Indians, and by those Blackfoots who play up to the politicians and to the large land-holding Whites of the region.

122 "Y-a-a-a-a-a," and finally Agnes added, "That old man sure can cut that dry, an' a he was young."

12:30: I just said to Joe, "Ask the old man what he wants for dinner."

Joe said, "Y-a-a-a-a, that's goin' a do it."

The old Chief is certainly enjoying himself, and doing a fine job with the meat to boot.

1:00: The drying lines across the kitchen are filled now, and the large washtub in the center of the table is nearly filled now with concertinaed pieces of meat. I have been alternately typing and doing yard chores. There are drying lines strung across the interior of the large wood shed out back, and this, no doubt, is where most of the moose meat will hang to dry.

Later: At 1:30, Mrs. Morning Gun cooked some deliciously tender moose meat for our lunch. She cooked it in a covered frying pan, with a little water. I opened a can of greens and a can of apples—delicacies for the Morning Guns. Apparently they are flat broke. I was able to understand Mrs. Morning Gun's explanation that the main source of income for them has long been the seasonal picking of fruit in Washington State. Now that they are older, they can no longer procure this kind of work. Agnes also told me that she is a first cousin of old Home Gun, and some distant kin of the Chief. She also informed me that Mary Ground is Amy White Grass' mother, that brother Jim's mother was a first cousin of Plenty Treaty B.C., and that Maggie, Plenty Treaty's wife, is the mother of Paul Many Hides. I was rescued from being related to Paul only by the fact that Paul is Maggie's son by a previous marriage.

464 434

122 262 But the greatest delicacy of the day, for the Morning Guns and for the Chief, was something that the Chief fetched to the table after we had begun to eat. It looked to me like a large white softball, but the Chief explained that it was kidney fat from the moose. Everyone was downing the kidney fat with such relish that, although it reminded me of the paraffin we used to chew as children, I finally ventured to try some. It tasted like the paraffin we used to chew as children, and, as had been the case with the paraffin, I finally had to spit it out.

264 The Chief and Agnes Morning Gun ate the moose meat in the old Indian fashion, holding a piece in the hand, clamping the teeth over a portion of it, and cutting the portion off close before the lips with a sharp knife. Joe, who has no teeth but is very handsome for all that, ate very fastidiously with a knife and fork.

122 After dinner the meat-cutting began again, and since I was not

484 transportation is the pick-up truck, and daily, Indian
[493] families make the trip into Cardston or to one of the Indian communities to buy food, borrow tools, seek advice, or merely converse. This form of communication is of great importance to the Blood, and, to the ethnographer, it would seem that the great majority of Blood are on the move most of the time.

Blood Economy

433 The Blood Indian Reserve is not an economic unit. It is a space in western Canada in which a number of Indians attempt to sustain or advance themselves by individual labor and individual capital investment. These efforts are generally tied to economic variables off the Reserve. Very few Indians are attempting to advance up the socio-economic ladder by working for other Indians. All advancement must come from selling one's produce or services to the white men who control the local agricultural and livestock markets and production centers. Intra-Reserve economic exchange is generally limited to working for food, gift exchanges, haying, and the limited sale of horses. Working for other Indians, however, is practiced and preferred by some individuals, par-
464 ticularly the young men. It is generally the uncapitalized young man, without tractor, truck, or hay rack, that works for wages or a percentage of the net income on haying operations. Other kinds of employment of this nature are branding,

464 breaking horses, building and repairing fences, and "custom" plowing or harvesting.

246 Haying is the most popular form of agricultural employment on the Reserve. It is popular because almost anyone can do it, and because there is immediate payment, intensive activity, and sporadic physical effort. Also, haying may be done on one's own allotment or any unclaimed Reserve land. Commonly the owner of the "rig" selects the area to be hayed. He then contacts relatives and neighbors who he thinks might be available. It generally takes a crew of from three to five men to work at the greatest efficiency, but men with less than modern equipment may work with as few as one other individual. The process is for one man to cut the hay (most hay is cut in circular swaths rather than in patterns congruent with fence lines or terrain) and then, when a sufficient quantity is cut, to rake it into piles. Then the other members of the crew are brought out, and their job is to stack the loose hay on the pick-up truck and the hay rack and tramp it into place. The hay is trucked [435] in this form to its destination for sale. Hay sold in this manner brings from $15 to $22 per ton, each truck and trailer load being around seven tons. Some Blood who have modern [433] equipment cut and bale the hay in one process. This eliminates a number of men from the crew and increases the operator's proceeds to over $25 per ton.

461 One unpopular but necessary adjunct to haying income
464 is farm labor. Some of the residents of Glenwood, Stand-off,
[177] and Moses Lake augment their Reserve income by working for white ranchers and growers within a one hundred mile radius of the Reserve. As this labor is generally casual crop labor such as picking, thinning, and harvesting, it is irregular. Many Blood look down upon it, and it appears to be acceptable to only the lowest socio-economic echelon on the Reserve.

464 From these sources the average Blood Indian eks out his living. Other forms of income are cattle ranching, rodeo work, carpentry and other construction work, seasonal work in nearby urban centers and the individual agricultural
657 leases. A considerable portion of individual income comes from tribal welfare resources and Canadian social welfare
434 benefits. Depending upon the combination of these various forms of income, the residents of the Reserve may be divided into socio-economic strata. On the top are the men who derive their income from their own agricultural endeavors or from their stock-raising enterprises. These Blood live as well as or better than the average white farmers around the Reserve. They have rather new cars and pick-up trucks, modern conveniences in the home, well painted and maintained homes, and they dress well and keep their children well groomed. Beneath this stratum is the middle class of the Reserve. These are the men with relatively steady income

BLACKFEET RESERVATION

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[366] **Vital Statistics**

[368] Population:	
[527] Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	6,216
[529] Labor Force:	
[162] Total:	1,353
[464] Unemployed:	495
Unemployment rate:	37%

TRIBAL ECONOMY

Average annual tribal income is $500,000. Ninety percent of this income is derived from minerals and 10 percent from miscellaneous sources. There are several industrial enterprises on the reservation, including a pencil manufacturer and a lumber cut-stock plant, providing employment for tribal members and income to the tribe.

CLIMATE

Rainfall averages about 14 inches per year. The temperature ranges from a high of 85° to a low of −20°.

TRANSPORTATION

U.S. Highway 89 runs southeast-northwest, and U.S. Highway 2 runs east-west through the reservation. Train, bus, and truck services are available on the reservation at Browning, while commercial air service is available at Great Falls, 125 miles away.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

A large community building is available at Browning for various tribal activities. A modern library with 3,000 volumes was recently completed. The water system at Browning is municipally owned. Electricity is furnished by Glacier Cooperative and natural gas by Montana Power Company. The U.S. Public Health Service hospital at Browning provides medical care for tribal members.

RECREATION

Browning, gateway to Glacier National Park, is the principal reservation shopping center. This is also the site of the Museum of the Plains Indians, a nationally known repository of Indian artifacts. North American Indian Days are celebrated annually with dances, ceremonies, and a rodeo. In addition to Glacier National Park, reservation recreation areas include Lower St. Mary's Lake, Duck Lake, and other such areas.